

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1830.

Art. I. *The Life of Richard Bentley, D.D.*, Master of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge: with an Account of his Writings, and Anecdotes of many distinguished Characters, during the period in which he flourished. By James Henry Monk, D.D., Dean of Peterborough. 4to. pp. 773. London. 1830.

OF the celebrated person who is the subject of the work before us, the accounts which have hitherto been given to the world are very imperfect; and, as well by their incorrectness as by their defects, are inadequate to convey to scholars a true representation of the character and transactions of the individual, to whose name has been awarded the first place in the modern records of classical and critical literature. A Biography of Bentley has at length made its appearance, which, both for its accuracy and its fulness, is calculated to gratify the wishes of all who may feel interested in the history of the distinguished Master of Trinity College, and of the University with which he was long and intimately connected. To write the life of Bentley, required not only high attainments in learning, and the habit of nicely discerning and appreciating the merit of works of no common character, but the still more valuable qualifications which are necessary for the determination of questions of moral justice. We are glad to be able to report that, in regard to these higher excellences, Dr. Monk has honourably acquitted himself, and has studiously fulfilled the obligations of truth. In all other respects, his classical accomplishments, his literary connections, his official relations in the University, and his unlimited access to the authorities which

were necessary to furnish the proper materials for the construction and illustration of his memoir, leave us nothing to desire, as to his competency for the task which he has achieved.

Is it proper, or desirable, in biography, to pass over transactions which a writer of correct moral perceptions can notice only in the language of reprehension? In characters, a fair examination of which discloses numerous faults and great and grievous errors, ought the good to be so separated from the bad, that those qualities which may be proposed as models for imitation, shall be the only ones brought into exhibition? Of what value were the instruction which, while inviting us to receive lessons of truth, would commence by deceiving us. Within such limits as these, we agree with Dr. Monk, there is neither justice nor expediency in confining biography. He deems the discovery of truth paramount to other considerations, and thinks, that an important and useful moral may be drawn from the failings of persons gifted with high intellectual endowments. Obvious as is the propriety of these sentiments, we cannot but attach importance to the assertion of them. Many examples might easily be supplied of memoirs, in the construction of which, opposite notions have led to the rejection of such incidents and comments as were not calculated to reflect praise upon the subjects of them. We could be under no apprehension that a scholar trained up in the principles of the Bentleian criticism, would fail to render justice to the consummate learning and sagacity of the great master critic. There might, however, be some reason for apprehension, lest the admiration which is never withheld, and cannot be withheld, by the followers of Bentley, from the extent of his acquirements, and the surprising application of his erudition, should be allowed to diminish the reverence which the Writer of his life should manifest for virtue. In giving a faithful representation of Bentley's proceedings, it is frequently necessary to exhibit his conduct in an unfavourable light, and 'such as reflects no credit upon his character, station, or profession.' Dr. Monk, without forgetting the concessions which may be claimed for human imperfections, and with every disposition to favour the subject of his work, has enabled us to form a correct estimate of the extraordinary person whose biography is now before us; and his luminous and copious narrative will be received by those for whom it has been prepared, as a satisfactory memorial of the greatest scholar of his times, creditable alike to the Author's learning and his good sense, to his principles and to his feelings.

Richard Bentley was born on the 27th of January, 1661-62, at Oulton, in the parish of Rothwell, a village not far from Wakefield, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. His ancestors

were respectable yeomen, who had been settled for some generations at Heptonstall, in the neighbourhood of Halifax, where they possessed property which appears to have been diminished during the civil wars of the seventeenth century. James Bentley, his grandfather, was a captain in the king's army, and died a prisoner in Pontefract Castle. His father, Thomas Bentley, possessed a small estate at Woodlesford, one of the five townships included in the parish of Rothwell; and in the year 1661, married Sarah, daughter of Richard Willie, a stone-mason at Oulton. Of this union, the illustrious scholar was the first offspring. At the time of his birth, his father was considerably advanced in life, but his mother was only nineteen years of age. She is represented to have been a woman of exceedingly good understanding, and is to be numbered among the mothers from whom men celebrated in the history of learning have received their earliest lessons in classical instruction. By her, Bentley was taught the Latin accidence. He was first sent to a day-school in the hamlet of Methley, and afterwards to the grammar-school of Wakefield. Of his school studies and school friendships, no particulars have been recorded; and even the name of the master under whom he was at this time receiving instruction, has been unknown to the public. Dr. Monk's researches have enabled him to supply this information; and we now learn, that the principal credit of Bentley's education belongs to Mr. John Baskerville, of Emanuel College, Cambridge, who succeeded Mr. Jeremiah Boulton in the mastership of Wakefield school, which he retained till the time of his death, in 1681. The proficiency of a scholar must, under the very ablest instructors, depend chiefly on his own exertions. For the place of his education, Bentley testified throughout life the greatest attachment; and his recollection of early advantages probably strengthened the feeling which he thus was known to cherish. Not to name the school or the masters of men who have become celebrated in the history of learning, has been represented by Dr. Johnson, in his *Life of Addison*, as a kind of fraud, by which honest fame is injuriously diminished. It is, however, quite obvious, that the commemoration of the teacher by the pupil whose genius he has fostered, and whose studies he has successfully directed, is included in the bearing of the remark. Such a discharge of the obligation thus contracted, will be as grateful to the master, as it is creditable to the scholar whom he has instructed, and to whose advancement his labours may have essentially contributed.

On the 24th of May, 1676, Bentley was admitted a subsizar of St. John's College, Cambridge, at that time the largest in the University, and under the mastership of Dr. Francis Turner,

afterwards Bishop of Ely; one of the seven prelates who resisted the arbitrary measures of James II., and who was deprived for refusing the oaths to the new Sovereigns at the Revolution. Of the course of his studies at the University, no account has been preserved. The academical prizes which now excite the emulation of students, and are the means of recording their merits, had at that time no existence. But, to a mind ardent and ambitious like Bentley's, such stimulating appeals are of but little moment. After the regular period of residence and study, he commenced Bachelor of Arts, Jan. 23, 1679-80. The honours of the University were then under a very different system of distribution, from that which has been maintained since the Senate-house examination assumed its present form and importance, and were of little value in determining the merits of the young men. Bentley took his first degree in company with a greater number of students than have received the like honour till within the last two or three years; and his place corresponded to that of third Wrangler at the present period. He was excluded from a fellowship in his own college, by a provision in the statutes, which allowed only two of a county to be admitted fellows. The head-mastership of the Grammar School of Spalding in Lincolnshire being vacant, and the nomination having lapsed to St. John's College, he received the appointment, and entered upon the office when he had just completed his twentieth year. On his coming of age, he disposed of his interest in some family property to his eldest brother, and with the money purchased a collection of books; an invaluable acquisition to a keen and persevering scholar in a secluded situation. Bentley, however, was not long to sustain the character of a country schoolmaster. He had not been more than a year in the occupation of this trust, when he was, on the recommendation of his College, invited to become private tutor to the son of the celebrated Dr. Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's, and exchanged the humble employments and society of Spalding for the superior advantages of the metropolis. Stillingfleet was also Rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and resided principally in London. In the family of this very learned person, Bentley now lived, and prosecuted his studies with all the advantages of books and literary society. He had taken his degree of Master of Arts at the regular period, July 1683, and ceased for a time to be connected with the University of Cambridge. His patron, Stillingfleet, was advanced, immediately after the Revolution, to the Bishopric of Worcester; and Bentley, in the beginning of 1689, attended his pupil to Wadham College, Oxford, of which he became a member.

Bentley had now access to the Bodleian Library, and he availed himself of the manuscript treasures of that noble collec-

tion. He had formed the habit of noting in the margin of his books, the suggestions and conjectures which occurred to his mind during his perusal of them, and was thus provided with materials for the works which he projected. At this period of his life, he designed to give the world new editions of Greek grammarians and Latin poets. A complete collection of the Fragments of the Greek poets, was undertaken by him; but this intention he abandoned, leaving as a specimen of his qualifications for this enterprise, the result of his labours in the collection of the Fragments of Callimachus. The publication of the Greek lexicographers, was suggested to him by Dr. William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph; and though this plan appears to have been soon abandoned, he employed very successfully his sagacity and his learning in the emendation of Hesychius.

While Bentley was engaged in these labours, his attention was accidentally drawn to the subject which raised and established his reputation as a Greek critic above all contemporary fame. Among the manuscripts of the Baroccian collection which enrich the Bodleian Library, there existed the only copy of the Chronicle of Malela, a Greek historical work compiled in the beginning of the ninth century. This is one of the numerous compilations drawn up by Christian writers, of events from Adam to their own time; the real value of which consists in their being taken from older writings that have perished, and from their being the sources whence Suidas and other lexicographers drew their information on chronology and history. The Chronicle of Malela is imperfect, the first pages of it being lost. It commences in the midst of the fabulous line of Egyptian kings; proceeds with a laboured attempt to reconcile mythology with history; and passing rapidly over the authentic part of history, becomes diffuse on the periods of the Christian emperors. The publication of this work had been undertaken by John Gregory, a man of great erudition in the time of Charles I. It was afterwards attempted by Chilmead. The printing of it, however, was reserved for the curators of the Sheldon press, who committed the superintendence of the edition to Dr. Mill, and engaged Hody to write the *prolegomena*, which he ably performed. Before the *Prolegomena* were printed, Bentley happening to express to Dr. Mill some curiosity about the yet unpublished Malela, he was indulged with a sight of the sheets from the press, upon condition of writing down his remarks, to be printed as an appendix to the book. From this engagement, Bentley, on perusing the work, wished to be released. The united influence, however, of Dr. Mill and Bishop Lloyd prevailed; and Bentley published the '*Epistola*

ad Millium', and established for himself a reputation for scholarship of the first eminence.

'Malelas had been long and anxiously expected by the learned; and his appearance interested them, not from his own merits, which were slender, but from those of the Appendix. The various and accurate learning, and the astonishing sagacity displayed in the Epistle to Mill, attracted the attention of every person capable of judging upon such subjects. The originality of Bentley's style, the boldness of his opinions, and his secure reliance upon unfailing stores of learning, all marked him out as a scholar to be ranked with Scaliger, Casaubon, and Gataker. Notwithstanding the reluctance with which the pretensions of a new author are usually admitted, and the small number of persons to whom such writings were likely to recommend themselves, we find that the fame of our critic was at once established: among foreign scholars in particular, the sensation produced by this essay of a young and unknown writer, seems to have been unexampled; and Grævius and Spanheim, the chiefs of the learned world, pronounced him "the rising constellation" of literature, and anticipated the brilliancy of his course.

'The learning of this essay seems like the overflowing of an inexhaustible stream. Of the many topics which claim attention, we may particularly notice, that the true nature of the compilation of Hesychius, and the mode by which its errors might be corrected, was (were) here first made known; and that, by following the path pointed out by Bentley, the main improvements in this Lexicon from that day to the present must be attributed.

'Among other incidental remarks upon ancient metre, there is found the rule relative to the connection of verses in an anapæstic system, commonly called the *Synaphea*: this law, though preserved by all the Greek dramatic writers, as well as by the old Latin tragedians, had been disregarded, or rather was not known, by Scaliger, Grotius, Buchanan, and other modern writers of anapæsts; who fancied that a short syllable might be made long by its position at the end of any line, and assumed this privilege with as little hesitation as if they had been writing hexameters. For our more correct notions of this measure, we are unquestionably indebted to Bentley. There is also displayed an accurate and intimate acquaintance with the characters and plots of the lost dramas, the periods of their performance, and whatever else can be gathered respecting the history of the Greek stage, from the scattered fragments of the ancient *Didascalix* still in existence; a curious as well as intricate topic, which Bentley treats with a masterly hand. After this specimen, it is perfectly astonishing to find his adversaries in the Phalaris controversy attacking him on a ground with which he had shewn himself so peculiarly acquainted.

'The style of the Epistle is animated and lively, and implies the gratification felt by a writer engaged in a field where his resources are abundant, and where he is sure to instruct and interest his reader. A person who opens it with the expectation of a dry disquisition upon certain abstruse topics, is agreeably surprised by meeting with in-

formation not less entertaining than profound; and is irresistibly carried on by the spirited character of the remarks. The diction, though clear and luminous, is not free from the redundancy and flippancy of a young writer, and the expressions now and then are somewhat boastful; a fault which would be readily pardoned, did it not too frequently occur in his subsequent productions.

'Such was the production which established the fame of Bentley, at the age of twenty-nine, in the highest rank of literary eminence; and from that moment, the eyes of every scholar in Europe were fixed upon his operations. Great as is the number of persons who have since appeared with success in this department, it would not be easy to name a critical essay, which for accuracy, ingenuity, and original learning, can take place of the "Appendix to Malelas".' pp. 23—26.

Bentley's next appearance before the public, was on a very different occasion. In 1690, he had taken deacon's orders in the church, and received the appointment of domestic chaplain to his patron, the Bishop of Worcester; and soon after, Feb. 13th, 1692, he was selected by the Trustees of Mr. Boyle, to preach the first series of discourses at the lecture founded by that distinguished person. By his will, Mr. Boyle bequeathed a salary of fifty pounds a year to support a lectureship in defence of natural and revealed religion. The lecturer was to be annually chosen, and to deliver eight discourses in the year, in one of the churches of the metropolis. Bentley owed his nomination principally to the high opinion entertained of him by Tenison, then Bishop of Lincoln, one of Mr. Boyle's trustees. The character of the Founder, and the circumstances in which the lecture commenced, attached great importance to the office for which Bentley was chosen, and furnished very powerful inducements to a man of superior intelligence and learning for the excitement of his faculties. The extravagant and fearless speculations of Spinoza and Hobbes, aided in their desecrating tendencies by the corrupt manners and irreligion of the infamous court of Charles the Second, had obtained, very extensively, an intimate access to the minds of the educated classes of the nation, and suggested as the appropriate subject of the opening series of discourses at the Boyle Lecture, 'a Confutation of Atheism'. The discoveries of Newton had been presented to the world by the publication of the *Principia* a few years before, in 1687; and it was in this work, of which it has been said, that its merits will insure it a lasting pre-eminence over all other productions of the human mind, that Bentley sought for some of the most available of the materials that he employed in the construction of his argument. The *Principia* itself, which not more than two or three of Newton's contemporaries understood, could not then be an efficient instrument of repelling the irreligious dogmas which the licentious and the

profane were rejoicing to see held in honour. Bentley exerted his acute and powerful intellect upon this celebrated work; he received from its illustrious Author, directions respecting the books to be read as a preparation for the perusal of it; and before he committed his discourses to the press, he consulted Newton respecting the uses which he had made of the discoveries that it comprised. The discourses were received with the warmest applause; the fame of the preacher was increased; and, before he had completed the course, a prebend in the cathedral of Worcester was bestowed upon him in reward of his labours. He was nominated to deliver a second course of Boyle's Lectures in 1694, and performed the service, but did not publish the set of discourses preached on this occasion.

In 1693, Bentley was made keeper of the King's library at St. James's. This appointment is connected with one of the most remarkable circumstances in the history of modern literature,—the controversy on the Epistles of Phalaris. The comparative merits of ancient and modern learning had been brought under the notice of scholars, by Fontenelle and his followers, who contended for the superiority of the latter; and by Sir William Temple, who zealously asserted the claims of the writers of antiquity, in his 'Essay upon the Ancient and the Modern Learning', originally published in 1692. In this dispute, the different parties were essentially wanting in the methods requisite to a calm and satisfactory discussion of the question; and they were both corrected by a scholar whose extraordinary attainments in very early life marked him out as a prodigy of learning. This was Wotton, the friend of Bentley, who published his 'Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning', in which he successfully combated the notions of Sir William Temple, and most judiciously and skilfully treated the subject in debate. The Baronet had adduced in support of his preference of the oldest books extant, as being the best in their kind, the Fables of Æsop, and the Epistles of Phalaris, on which he pronounced an elaborate encomium. These works, Bentley, in a conversation with Wotton, previously to the publication of his 'Reflections', had pronounced to be neither old nor good; remarking, that he could prove the collection of Fables passing under the name of Æsop, not to be Æsop's, and that the Epistles of Phalaris were a forgery of later times. Wotton wished to obtain Bentley's sentiments, to be inserted in his work. But, owing to various causes, the 'Reflections' were printed without them.

The Epistles of Phalaris, being thus brought into notice by the praises bestowed upon them by Sir William Temple, were soon prepared for the press by the Honourable Charles Boyle. For the service of the projected edition, it was desirable to have

the collation of such manuscript copies as were accessible; and Mr. Boyle employed his bookseller to obtain the readings of a manuscript in the library at St. James's, now under Bentley's care. Bentley was willing to accommodate the Editor of the Epistles; but, through the ignorance and mismanagement of Boyle's agent, the collation was imperfectly furnished, and Boyle and his Oxford associates attributed the failure to the wilful discourtesy of Bentley. In the preface to the Epistles, the following sentence was inserted by Boyle:—'*collatas etiam curavi usque ad Epist. XL. cum MSto. in Bibliotheca regia, cujus mihi copiam ulteriorem Bibliothecarius, PRO SINGULARI SUA HUMANITATE, negavit.*' Surprised by this reflection upon his character, Bentley instantly wrote to Boyle, explaining the real state of the case, and disclaiming all intention of offence. This explanation was rejected, and Bentley was left to vindicate himself as he might choose. The opportunity of doing this, was not long wanting. A second edition of the 'Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning', was now called for; and Wotton claimed the fulfilment of Bentley's promise, that he would prove the Epistles of Phalaris, and the Fables of Æsop, to be spurious productions. The 'Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris', soon afterwards made its appearance, and produced in the literary and academical circles a sensation altogether unexampled. But, great as were the merits of this extraordinary performance, the full lustre of Bentley's fame was not displayed in this stage of the controversy. In an evil hour for their own reputation as scholars, the men of Oxford determined to chastise the critic who had given them such high offence by his attack upon Boyle's Phalaris; and the wits of Christ Church combined to inflict the chastisement by which they hoped to avenge their insulted honour, and to expose the pretensions of their daring adversary. Their task was at length completed, and Boyle's examination of Bentley's Dissertation was published in March 1698. The temporary popularity of this work is well known to scholars. It was eagerly read, and most extravagantly praised. It excited the most violent clamour against the Assailant of Phalaris, who was denounced by authors of every description as having merited the most contemptuous treatment. He was overwhelmed with ridicule, and exhibited in such ludicrous associations as the invention of his opponents could supply for the occasion. At Cambridge, Bentley's detractors published a caricature representing the critic as being put by the ministers of Phalaris into his brazen bull, while he, in allusion to the author of his literary punishment, exclaims, 'I had rather be roasted than BOYLED'. Garth's lines in the 'Dispensary' are well known:

'So diamonds take a lustre from their foil,
And to a Bentley 'tis we owe a Boyle.'

In Swift's 'Battle of the Books,' the humorous satire which that extravagant writer was accustomed to employ against the objects of his dislike, is directed against Bentley with the most powerful effect, and continues to amuse those for whom it has no other attractions.

Bentley did not immediately answer the book which, in the opinion of many of his contemporaries, had covered him with shame. He knew that the victory was his own, and that the apparent advantage which his opponents had obtained, would enable him to triumph more signally in their defeat. The only peril that he could fear, was the failure of life or mental incapacity; and happily for his fame, his opportunity of vindicating himself, and asserting his superiority, did not pass away. He omitted no preparations that were necessary to guard his representations against the severest scrutiny of his opponents, and to establish his arguments on the firmest ground; he exerted the whole force of his acuteness in removing the obscurities of the most perplexing of the subjects which he had previously noticed; and, reserving his reply to the Examiner's strictures respecting *Æsop's Fables*, for a second part of his new work, he at length committed to the press, and, at the beginning of 1699, published, in an octavo volume, comprising more than 660 pages, his enlarged 'Dissertation upon the Epistles of Philaris; with an 'Answer to the Objections of the Hon. Charles Boyle.' The sagacity, the learning, and the reasoning of this work, are such, that no laudatory description of its merits could well be charged with exaggeration.

'The appearance of this work is to be considered an epoch, not only in the life of Bentley, but in the history of literature. The victory obtained over his opponents, although the most complete that can be imagined, constitutes but a small part of the merit of this performance. Such is the Author's address, that while every page is professedly controversial, there is embodied in the work a quantity of accurate information relative to history, chronology, antiquities, philology, and criticism, which it would be difficult to match in any other volume. The cavils of the Boyleans had fortunately touched upon so many topics, as to draw from their adversary a mass of learning, none of which is misplaced or superfluous: he contrives, with admirable judgement, to give the reader all the information which can be desired upon each question, while he never loses sight of his main object. Profound and various as are the sources of his learning, every thing is so well arranged, and placed in so clear a view, that the student who is only in the elementary parts of classical literature, may peruse the book with profit and pleasure, while the most learned reader cannot fail to find

his knowledge enlarged. Nor is this merely the language of those who are partial to the Author; the eminently learned Dodwell, who had no peculiar motive to be pleased with a work in which he was himself a considerable sufferer, and who, as a non-juror, was prejudiced against Bentley's party, is recorded to have avowed, "that he had never learned so much from any book in his life."

'This learned volume owes much of its attraction to the strain of humour, which makes the perusal highly entertaining. The advocates of Phalaris, having chosen to rely upon wit and raillery, were now made to feel, in their turn, the consequences of the warfare which they had adopted.—Such is the lively interest which his unabated strain of humour confers on the book, that a person who looks into any part of it, finds himself almost irresistibly carried forward.

'So well-sustained is the learning, the wit, and the spirit of this production, that it is not possible to select particular parts as objects of admiration, without committing a sort of injustice to the rest. And the book itself will continue to be in the hands of all educated persons, as long as literature maintains its station in society.' pp. 93—95.

In July 1696, Bentley was created Doctor of Divinity at Cambridge. On this occasion, he defended in his 'Public Act', the Mosaic account of the Creation and the Deluge—the proof of Divine authority by the miracles recorded in Scripture—and, the identity of the Christian and Platonic Trinity; and preached the Commencement sermon which was afterwards appended to his Boyle's Lectures. The subject of this discourse was, a defence of Revelation against the deists: it bears the title, 'Of Revelation and the Messiah.'

Bentley's first patron, Bishop Stillingfleet, died on the 27th of March, 1699, and was interred in the Cathedral of Worcester. The inscription on his monument was written by Bentley, who at this time interested himself, but in vain, to secure the purchase of the Bishop's noble collection of books by the Government, to augment the Royal Library, and subsequently for the Royal Society. The collection was bought by an Irish prelate, Dr. Narcissus Marsh, who devoted his purchase to the purpose of founding a public library in the University of Dublin. Money is the sinews of war; and King William's Government, it seems, were more disposed to provide the means of carrying on the campaigns in which the monarch was engaged, than to furnish books as the proofs of royal munificence. George I. was better advised, when he presented Bishop Moore's magnificent library of 30,000 volumes, at the cost of 6000*l.*, to the University of Cambridge.

On the promotion of Dr. John Montague to the deanery of Durham, in the latter part of 1699, the Mastership of Trinity College, Cambridge, became vacant; and Bentley was appointed to the office, on the recommendation of the commissioners to whom the disposal of the royal patronage in the church and

universities was entrusted, on the demise of Queen Mary, by whom it had been exercised. This preferment was the most important circumstance in the life of Dr. Bentley, and proved to himself, and to the College and the University, the source of long and grievous vexations. Dr. Monk has described the state of Trinity College, and the causes to which its decline in the latter years of the seventeenth century is to be ascribed; and he remarks on the elevation of Bentley to its government as follows.

‘ For these evils, no better remedy could have been devised, than the appointment of a Master, possessed of talents, energy, and reputation; and this was the sole motive for the arrangement which placed Bentley at the head of Trinity College. The measure was so well intended, and so honourable to its authors, that it is painful to find it not productive of all the good effects which they contemplated. But, in making this selection, some material circumstances appear to have been overlooked. Bentley had no previous connection with the college which he was sent to govern; he was himself educated in another and a rival society; and not having resided at Cambridge since he reached manhood, he was unacquainted with the business as well as feelings of the place, and destitute of all the peculiar information which the Head of a college ought to possess. Far from cherishing that attachment to his society which is generally observed to overcome all other feelings among the governors of our colleges, Bentley regarded with contempt the Fellows over whom he was to preside; and the preferment itself, he seems to have valued chiefly on account of its income, and as a step in the ladder of advancement. On the other hand, his appointment was unpopular in the society, to whom he was known only by his reputation as a critic and controversialist, and who were chagrined at not seeing one of their own college placed at their head. Besides overlooking these circumstances, his patrons were not aware that there were certain defects in his character, which made him a person not to be safely trusted with authority. Hitherto, the reader has seen him pass clear and unsullied through no common ordeal, and put to shame the attacks of jealous and envious adversaries: in the remainder of his history, there will be found much to regret, and much to condemn.’

pp. 112, 13.

A traditional anecdote of Bentley, which refers to an early period of his history, states that a nobleman, who had dined at his patron's, the Bishop of Worcester, was struck with Bentley's information and powers of argument, and remarked: ‘ My Lord, ‘ that chaplain of your's is certainly a very extraordinary man! ‘ Yes,’ said Stillingfleet, ‘ had he but the gift of humility, he ‘ would be the most extraordinary man in Europe.’ Bentley, however, could never number humility among the gifts which he possessed, or sought to obtain. He soon furnished occasion for the most serious complaints, in his administration of his college, which he resolved to rule in the most arbitrary manner;

and he compelled the Fellows, by the innovations which he introduced, and the harsh and reckless courses which he pursued, to take measures for their own relief, and for the interests of the society which they were, equally with himself, bound to protect. It is impossible for us to relate the several particulars of the long maintained disputes which disturbed the peace of Trinity College, and were the fruitful cause of distractions to the University itself, for a great number of years. The Fellows were resolved on the prosecution of their Master for malversation; and, on the 11th of July, 1710, articles of accusation against him were exhibited to the Bishop of Ely, Dr. Moore, as Visitor of the College. After many delays, Bentley's trial commenced at Ely House in May 1714, and a sentence of deprivation was directed by the Bishop to be made out, ejecting him from the Mastership of Trinity College. The Fellows, however, were still, and for many more years, to be tormented by the evil Genius who had sported with their discomforts and despised their complaints. The Visitor died, in consequence of illness which originated in the sittings at Ely House, before he could pronounce judgement in the cause; and on the day following occurred the death of Queen Anne, which was introductory to the most important changes in the government and prospects of the country. Bentley had now a favourable opportunity of correcting his errors, and of attempting the pacification of his college. But he had neither the magnanimity nor the honest prudence which were necessary in such a crisis, and for such a purpose. He revived his vexatious annoyances, and proceeded with his oppressive measures, till the combination of his Fellows was renewed against him. Articles of accusation were again preferred; but Bishop Fleetwood, who had succeeded to the see of Ely, refused to proceed as special Visitor, and the articles were not heard till the time of Bishop Greene, who became the prelate of Ely in 1723. Sentence of deprivation was finally pronounced by the Visitor of the College, April 27, 1734. But the case did not end here. Bentley contrived by the most extraordinary exertions to oppose the execution of the sentence. Nor was it ever executed. Bishop Greene died in 1737: this event rendered further proceedings impracticable; and Dr. Bentley retained the Mastership of Trinity College while he lived. The whole history of these college feuds, and the law proceedings to which they gave rise, are exceedingly curious, and will be interesting to academic readers, though they can afford but little either of instruction or amusement to others. They occupy a very considerable portion of these pages.

Among Bentley's opponents, there were two whose pens were very efficiently employed in exposing his arbitrary proceedings. These were Dr. Colbatch and Dr. Conyers Middleton. The

latter is well known to all persons conversant with English literature, as one of the purest and best writers in the language. He is not, however, to be praised as a fair adversary. The former person was of a different character; and it is not the least of Bentley's offences, that he compelled so excellent a man to take part against him. We transcribe the following account, as an instructive one, in respect to the circumstances which are connected with the fortunes of men of learning, who are dependent on the favour of men of rank.

‘Of all the Fellows of the College, Dr. JOHN COLBATCH stood the highest in reputation, as a scholar and a divine. Unlike the generality of his brethren, he had lived much in the world, and possessed an acquaintance among persons of rank and consideration. He had passed nearly seven years, from his first entering into Orders, as Chaplain to the Factory at Lisbon, and had, at the desire of Bishop Burnet, written an account of the state of religion and literature in that country; which being shewn to Queen Mary, produced much applause, and assurances from her Majesty of providing for the author. At the earnest request of the same prelate, accompanied with promises of preferment, he left his situation in Portugal, worth about 200*l.* a year, to become private tutor to his eldest son, Gilbert Burnet, who was designed for Trinity College. Colbatch, however, was destined to experience in a higher degree, that description of patron which Dr. Johnson enumerates among the “ills of a scholar’s life.” He had been desirous of quitting his fellowship, but was persuaded, greatly against his inclinations, to continue in College till the Bishop of Salisbury’s son had completed his education: but in 1691, one year before the expiration of that term, the famous Duke of Somerset, Chancellor of the University, having placed his eldest son, the Earl of Hertford, at Trinity, applied to Colbatch to undertake the care of his tuition. For this honour, he was indebted to the recommendation of Dr. Bentley; and by the joint authority of Bishop Burnet and of the master, he undertook a charge which, they contended, was certain to lead to high advancement in his profession. For two years he devoted himself with much labour, to the education of the young patrician; and then found that the noble Chancellor was more sparing of remuneration than became the Head of an university, and the official patron of learning. His Grace, however, was so well pleased with Colbatch’s services, that he used his persuasions to induce him to continue tutor to his son during his travels, promising to provide for him in the Church, and to continue his salary, 100*l.* a year, till such provision was realized. Accordingly, he accompanied the young earl abroad, devoted two more years to his service, and became his instructor in the French and Italian, as well as the classical languages; but just before the period when his services were no longer required, he was recalled by the Duke with some expressions of displeasure, for which no intelligible reason could be assigned: the promises of present and future provision were forgotten and disclaimed; and he was dismissed with the bare proportion of his salary, which, after deducting the expenses

he had incurred, left him a remuneration less in amount than the wages of a common footman, as a return for the most important services which one man can render to another. On experiencing such harsh treatment from a person every way his debtor, Colbatch made proper remonstrances; and the Master interfered in a manner which did him honour. But the success of Bentley's representations to the Duke, was only the vindication of the tutor from the reflections made, or pretended to have been made, upon him: to all claims upon his gratitude or justice, he turned a deaf ear. Thus Colbatch, at the age of forty, returned to college, having derived from the labours of his best years, no other reward than a prebend of Salisbury, given to him by the bishop, which did not exceed 20*l.* a year; that prelate conceiving himself relieved by the Duke from the necessity of giving him better preferment. Possibly, the well-known violence of Burnet's party prejudices might have disinclined him to a person whose politics, though moderate, were of the tory cast. Colbatch, in speaking of this treatment some years afterwards, observes, that "the hardships which he suffered, were aggravated by some circumstances which must lie infinitely heavier, and sink deeper into an ingenuous mind, than any temporal loss or inconvenience whatsoever." The University, however, shewed a better sense of his merit, than those two great patrons; in 1707, he was elected Professor of Casuistry, and delivered lectures on Moral Philosophy with much reputation. He joined to other learning an uncommon acquaintance with the Civil and the Canon Law, and with writers upon those subjects. For a long series of years, no member of the University was more looked up to as a conscientious and exemplary person, zealous for the promotion of study and discipline, and remarkable for his disinterested public spirit. It was from an opinion of this character, that he retained throughout life an extensive influence, both among the old and the young; notwithstanding his rigid and inflexible principles, which made even one of his friends admit that his "virtue was by some deemed too severe." We may further remark, that he possessed the pen of a ready writer, and a style which was always perspicuous, and, whenever he chose, caustic and severe." pp. 301—303.

By the death of Dr. James, the Regius Professor of Divinity, March 15th, 1717, that important and lucrative preferment became vacant. Bentley had for some time been anticipating the event, and resolved that no hinderance which his subtlety could by any possible means remove, should be an impediment in the way of his advancement to the office. He succeeded; and the history of the elevation of the Master of Trinity College to the professorship, is not the least memorable of the circumstances in which the illustration of his character may be found. He 'used knavery' to secure his appointment; and by the daring manœuvre which he practised, astonished and confounded his opponents. On the 1st of May, he delivered his probationary lecture before a crowded audience, on the disputed text of the Heavenly Witnesses in the First Epistle of St. John; and on the following day, he was chosen to the vacant office. Some late discussions

on the controverted text, having rendered the decision of Bentley in this prælection of some consequence, Dr. Monk has furnished from his inquiries very satisfactory evidence that Bentley pronounced a decided judgement against the verse.

Soon after Bentley's elevation to the Regius Professorship, King George I. visited the University. During the time of his Mastership of Trinity College, he had the honour of receiving the visits of three different sovereigns of England. Queen Anne graced Bentley's Lodge with her presence in 1705; and in 1728, George II. followed the example of his two royal predecessors, in conferring upon the University of Cambridge the like personal favour. The visit of George I. was connected with circumstances which, in their results, produced the agitations and hostilities to which we have already referred. The day selected by the monarch for his act of condescension to the University, was not calculated to exhibit the Court as being under any anxiety to avoid giving offence to the graver members of the community, by adding its sanction to the laws enacted for 'the better observance of the Lord's day.' Dr. Wilkins, in a letter to the Bishop of Carlisle, written from Cambridge at the time, informs his correspondent, that 'As long as the King staid 'at Cambridge, one heard nothing (although it was upon a 'Sunday) but ringing of bells, *Vivat Rex!* King George for ever! The country people came ten miles and further, to see 'this solemnity.' The royal proclamation against vice and immorality, we suppose, was read for the instruction of these country people at the sessions and assizes for their county; and if they were at any subsequent times disposed to have a 'solemnity' after their own fashion, they would not be without a precedent of high character for their disregard of the King's commandment. It is no novel circumstance, it appears, for the practice of the Court to be at variance with its inculcations to observe the Lord's day with due propriety. And where the example is found on the side of the violation of the rule, the recommendation to honour it, cannot be expected to be an effective one. It was on the occasion of this visit, that Bentley demanded large and unaccustomed fees from the doctors who were presented for creation, the payment of which was resisted by Conyers Middleton, who, from this time, is to be numbered with the most determined of Bentley's opponents. The fee demanded, was paid conditionally; Middleton sued the Professor for the four guineas thus received by him, in the Vice-Chancellor's court, from which a decree issued for his arrest. This being treated with contempt, the next measure was to suspend him from his degrees; and under this suspension, he remained for five years and a half, when it was removed by mandamus from the King's Bench.

Bentley's great error was, his arbitrary determination to design and execute measures, independently of others who were interested in them. To his love of magnificence, Trinity College owes many of its improvements; and, as a seat of learning, the University received essential benefit from some of his regulations.

It was remarked by Bentley's adversaries, that, whenever he was in danger of being called to an account for malversation of his college, he was prepared to announce some literary production, which might interest the public in his favour. This would seem to be not a groundless imputation. Bentley's artifice was never allowed to slumber, when it could avail him either in regard to his fears or his hopes; and the dates of the proposals which he issued, and of the works which he published, not unfrequently coincide with the occasions of his jeopardy. He furnished, in 1709, an Appendix of Emendations to Davies's edition of Cicero's *Tusculan Questions*; and published, in 1710, the more important series of Emendations on Menander and Philemon. In 1711, he completed his edition of Horace, which he had long promised; and published it in the close of the year, with a dedication to Lord Oxford, remarkable for the adulatory terms in which it is couched. Bentley had been the panegyrist of the whig ministry, recently displaced; and this choice of the great tory leader as the object of his praise, subjected him to the invectives and obloquy which follow signal instances of political delinquency. Pleased with his new patron, Bentley was not less pleased with himself; and the Preface to his Horace is as choice a specimen of the arrogant self-complacency which the pride of learning can engender, as could well be selected. The work itself was attacked by a host of assailants, who were unsparing in their reprobation of the new Horace, and in their censures of the vain-glorious Editor.

In 1713, Collins's '*Discourse of Free Thinking*' excited the attention of the public, and was noticed by many writers, who successfully exposed its flippant boldness, and the ignorance and bad reasoning with which it abounds. On this occasion, Bentley distinguished himself, and rendered essential and lasting service to the cause of truth, by giving to the world the admirable '*Remarks upon a late Discourse of Free-Thinking, in a Letter to F. H. D.D. By Phileleutherus Lipsiensis.*' This is the most popular and the most useful of Bentley's productions. It was in these '*Remarks*', that the question of various readings in the manuscripts of the New Testament, which had previously disquieted many good minds, and of which a very disingenuous use had been made by Collins, was effectually and for ever settled. The proof of its merits, in respect to this subject, is to be found in the circumstance, that every subse-

quent Biblical critic, in treating on this topic, has either referred directly to the 'Remarks,' as containing the most satisfactory account of the variations in the text of ancient writings, or has availed himself of the statements and arguments which they comprise. In 1714, he undertook a new edition of Terence, which was not published before 1726. The dissertation which he prefixed to the work, on the metres of the Latin poet, is well known to scholars, as an exquisite production, surpassing in merit every other account which has been given of them.

There were two works projected by Dr. Bentley, to which a high degree of importance was attributed by him; a critical edition of the New Testament, and the restoration of the text of Homer. Neither of these works was ever completed by him. He propounded his plan of the first of these undertakings, in a letter to Archbishop Wake, dated the 15th April, 1716, in which he states, that he should be able to give an edition of the Greek Testament, exactly as it existed in the best copies at the time of the Council of Nice. For this work he made very diligent preparations, by collating various manuscripts, and procuring such assistance as might most effectually further his design; and in 1720, he issued his proposals for the publication of the intended edition, for which he obtained very ample patronage, the deposits of the subscribers amounting to more than two thousand guineas. Of the merits of Bentley's revision of the text of the New Testament, it is of no real moment to offer an opinion, because the work was never executed. His proposals were examined with great acuteness and severity by Dr. Conyers Middleton, and were the occasion of a controversy, which was agitated with great bitterness and violence, and in which Dr. Bentley signalized himself by the scurrility and rancour of the abuse that he poured from the vials of his wrath upon his antagonists.

The other work which was contemplated by Bentley, to display the superiority of his classical attainments and his critical skill, was the reformation of Homer's versification, by the aid of manuscripts, quotations, and scholiasts, and, which was a novelty in Greek criticism, by the introduction of the *Æolic Digamma*. Of this attempt, Dr. Monk has given a concise but sufficient account, accompanied by remarks on the impracticability of the undertaking. The complete success of such a plan, he pronounces to be hopeless; and in this judgement, he will have the concurrence of such scholars as are most conversant with the discussions which have been produced by the state of Homer's text.

Of all Bentley's literary undertakings, his edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost* is the most extraordinary. It excites astonishment, that a mind most richly imbued with classical learning,

and constantly exercised in all the varieties of chaste and elegant composition which distinguish the Greek and Roman models, should be capable of so grossly outraging all the laws of poetic eloquence, and every principle of taste. Of this enterprise, which exposed Bentley to the most signal humiliation, Dr. Monk has given a very fair relation; and he exposes the incompetency and the rashness of the critic in engaging in a work, which is without parallel in the history of literature, and which, at first sight, argues mental aberration, or the dotage of 'talent.'

Bentley married, in 1701, Joanna, daughter of Sir John Bernard of Brampton in Huntingdonshire, with whom he had become acquainted during his residence in Bishop Stillingfleet's family. She is described as possessing the most amiable and valuable qualities; of cultivated understanding, benevolent, and religious. In this union she lived nearly forty years. The Doctor's family consisted of three children, Richard, a fellow of Trinity College, and known for his intimacy with Walpole and Gray, as well as by the productions of his pen; Elizabeth, married to Humphrey Ridge, Esq., and afterwards to the Rev. James Favell; and Joanna, married to Mr. Denison Cumberland. Bentley completed the eightieth year of his age in January 1742, and died on the 14th of July following, it is said, of a pleuritic fever, for which he himself suggested bleeding; a remedy upon which Dr. Heberden, who was then a young physician, practising at Cambridge, would not venture. Dr. Wallis, who arrived after Bentley's decease, is stated to have expressed much regret that the patient's suggestion had not been complied with. He was interred in the chapel of his College; and the inscription on the small square stone which marks the spot, withholds from him the title of Master of the College.

It is a painful, but not an uninstrusive exercise which is furnished to our minds, by the perusal of the work which we have just closed. Nothing can be a more melancholy object of our contemplation, than the self-degradation of highly gifted men. It was one of Bentley's maxims, that no man was ever written out of reputation but by himself; and we might parallel this by another, that some men can be dishonoured only by their own proceedings. The whole of the disputes which divided Trinity College during his administration, are to be attributed to his arbitrary assumptions and his intolerant manners: they never would have arisen under the government of a master who had learned to respect the rights and feelings of others, and who was prescribing to himself the exercise of a mild and equitable authority. Dr. Monk has claimed for the subject of his narrative, merits of the highest order in those departments

of literature which he cultivated, and has exhibited him as the first of scholars. Nor is there any advantage or lustre which might attach to his name and character, that his present Biographer would not spontaneously and cordially assign. But, when he avows his disinclination to enlarge on the character of Bentley, because it appears to him, that 'his passions were not always under the control, nor his actions under the guidance of Christian principles'; and that, in consequence, 'pride and ambition, the faults to which his nature was most exposed, were suffered to riot without restraint'; and that hence proceeded 'the display of arrogance, selfishness, obstinacy, and oppression, by which his career was disfigured' (p. 661); he leaves us under the full force of those impressions which compel us to rate the most brilliant talents, and the most exquisite learning, at a value immeasurably below the endowments of minds that are uniformly obeying the impulses of true wisdom. Than a vain-glorious scholar, no object can be more offensive and repulsive. Neither our veneration nor our love is due to learning, apart from its union with truth and goodness. Bentley's followers attribute to him the first honours of classical erudition, and describe him as the *Magnum literarum humaniorum decus*. But of what worth are the *literæ humaniores*, without the *mores ac vivendi ratio*? These were wanting in the far-famed scholar; and what compensation for the moral excellencies which alone are the true elements of greatness, can we find in the fulness and aptness of classical quotations, in the most approved emendations, or the happiest conjectures? What does it avail to discover laws of metre, and to detect philological errors, if the scholar be a selfish and sordid creature,—if he be less known for his probity than for his craftiness, and scruple not to subject himself, by mean and paltry acts, to the imputation of being guided by ungenerous and disingenuous principles and feelings? Such a station as Bentley's should have been adorned by courtesy, as well as supported by learning. It might not be difficult for us to refer to examples of a spurious dignity in scholars that might seem to be the very excess of self-importance; but Bentley's literary pride was probably without a parallel. He could not bear his faculties meekly, nor was he 'clear in his great office'. And his example may be emphatically the warning of scholars, that no distinctions which learning can confer, will ever render a man estimable to his virtuous contemporaries, or consecrate his name to hallowed remembrance, unless it be associated with the meekness of wisdom, and the graces of an attractive benevolence. If Bentley was the first of scholars, he was not the most useful of authors; and all who appreciate his merits must conclude with Dr. Monk, that he

might 'have exercised his learning, acuteness, and powers of application, with far more benefit to mankind, than in that conjectural criticism which should have been rather the sport and amusement, than the serious and staple occupation of a genius like Bentley's.'

Art. II. *Elements of Physics; or Natural Philosophy, General and Medical, explained independently of Technical Mathematics, and containing New Disquisitions and Practical Suggestions. In two Volumes. By Neil Arnott, M.D. Vol. I. Fourth Edition. 8vo. pp. 660. Vol. II. Part I. pp. 320. London. 1829.*

WE hear much, in the present day, of the material change which has taken place in the method of cultivating the intellectual powers. An independence and boldness hitherto unknown, have been brought to bear upon mental pursuits; prescriptive authority has almost been set at nought; the opinions and *dicta* of our ancestors have ceased to be regarded with implicit reverence; and every individual thinks he is at full liberty to inquire and to judge for himself. Even seminaries for teaching the rudiments of knowledge, have been of late years subjected to important revolutions; and long established customs have been broken in upon with a freedom and fearlessness remarkably characteristic of the times in which we live. The schoolmaster is not only 'abroad', but is occupied in novel and untried experiments. May not, it is asked, the pursuits of the boy, and the acquirements of the youth, be made a matter of less toil and more efficiency? May not science be simplified by a removal of the cumbrous appendages which have always been attached to it? And may not a new and more pleasing path be opened before the student of nature and nature's laws?

The volumes before us are in accordance with the spirit of the times. 'Teach facts and laws', says the able Author, 'and afterwards let these laws and facts be combined into a whole, by means of those studies which have usually been considered as the preliminaries, rather than, as they ought to be, the post-factories.' In the same spirit, and with a like abandonment of scholastic and prescriptive authority, certain modern masters of language tell us, that grammar should be postponed till the student shall have been made able to apply its principles to his acquired knowledge—that is, knowledge acquired by a different routine. The *propria quæ maribus* and *as in præsentî*, they say, ought not to be placed before the boy, as hitherto has been the case, for a mere exercise of mechanical memory, but presented to him as a concentrating and connecting principle,

by which his elementary acquirements are to be confirmed and made impressive. Now, we hope that we run no risk of being charged with a desire to obstruct, in the smallest measure, the free march of intellect. We feel, however, by no means so thoroughly convinced as some of our contemporaries appear to be, that the old scholastic methods of tuition were so very, very bad, as not to have had in them some ingredients applicable to the mental conditions they were intended to accommodate. Our modern theories of mental culture build too much, as it appears to us, on a false assumption with regard to the laws which regulate the development and activity of the mental powers. They presuppose that the adult possesses the memory of the boy, and the boy the judgement of the man. Whereas experience shews the fact to be very far otherwise. It is during the season of youth that the mind is the most open to receive what, in after life, is to be made use of; and we are not to look for the power of arrangement, and selection, and inference, until the buoyancy of our younger years has given way to the comparative sedateness and maturity of middle age, when all the jargon of grammar finds a much less facile entrance into the mind*.

But cannot the young mind, it may be asked, be taught to reason and reflect, as well as to observe and remember? Cannot the reasoning powers be gradually unfolded, so as to ensure

* Our continental speculators beat us out and out, both in their innovations upon practical science, and in the business of early education. A German physician has lately obtained extensive fame by discovering, that medicines are available in the minute quantity of billionths of grains, which we have been accustomed to administer in grains and scruples; so as that a drachm ought to be sufficient, it has been wittily and wickedly remarked by a critic, to medicate the whole Lake of Geneva. Another foreign professor proposes to commence the business of initial instruction, by making the young pupil, even before he is acquainted with a single letter in the alphabet, read a few lines in Telemachus; averring, that by the time a line or two shall be properly read in this way, the young student will know more of letters and words, as well as philosophy and theology, than the systems would teach him in years. For instance, taking the sentence, 'Calypso could not console herself,' &c. Calypso, who was she? What is the meaning of her being considered immortal? In what does mortality differ from immortality? What did the ancients mean by gods and goddesses? When was the system of pure theism introduced in opposition to the polytheism of the heathen? &c. &c. Every word is thus made to elicit comprehensive questions, the answers to which are reiterated till they may be imprinted on the memory; and in this way, a body of information is to be amassed, the student at the same time remaining entirely ignorant that *b* follows *a*, and *c*, *b*, in the alphabetical arrangement!

a maturity of judgement at the period when scholastic systems assume its mere commencement? Most certainly, a great deal may be effected upon this principle; and no part of education has a more momentous bearing upon the future vigour and tone of the intellect, than a due exercise, during intellectual growth, of the reasoning faculties. It is in this respect that parental care and guardianship become so indispensable. The task, however, is not so very easy as some have imagined, to follow up closely the principle of making 'philosophy in sport' turn to 'science in earnest.' We can forgive the boy who should not be extremely ready to listen to the laws of centrifugal and centripetal force, as exemplified in 'the speed of the rolling circle,' or in the beautiful spinning, and whirling, and *sleeping* of his wooden top. The happiness of children, says Godwin, is, as things are at present constituted, the happiness of a sportive calf. There is no propriety in this statement. It is rather the happiness of nascent mind, constituted in great part of imagination, to which mere animal bliss is a total stranger. And for our own parts, we would rather witness the young Etonian, (confessedly deplorable as is the established system of instruction, in many respects, under which he is trained,) with ruddy face and agile limbs, 'urging the flying ball', than see the playground converted into 'a school of Athens', with here a groupe discussing recondite moral problems, and there a groupe profoundly meditating on the principles and laws of projectile forces.

There is one decided improvement, which is beginning to obtain in modern education; namely, the adapting of the nature of the study, in a more marked manner than had hitherto been the case, to the constitution and capacity of the student. We are not now to inquire whether that system has more or less of truth in it, which maps out the intellectual organs into so many compartments; but no one, whether inclined to give credit to the assumptions of the phrenologist, or to deride the whole business as an impudent piece of German charlatanism, will refuse his assent to the following positions, advanced by one of the ablest and most eloquent advocates of this new theory of mind; which positions, whatever we may think of the doctrine, deserve the consideration of all who are willing to entertain truth, let it come from whatever quarter it may.

'Dr. Gall contends', says this Reviewer of his system, 'that when we see a boy, brought up exactly like his brothers and sisters, displaying fine musical talents, or an astonishing power of calculation, though in all other respects a child, his pre-eminence cannot be explained by particular habits of study or of business, nor by mere strength of what have hitherto been

considered as fundamental faculties,—perception, attention, memory, judgement, &c. That the boy has a strong perception of melody, a strong memory of tunes, a strong musical imagination, a strong musical judgement, or a strong perception, memory, and judgement of numbers, but is not clearer-headed or more attentive on any other point, while men of the strongest sense may have no perception, memory, or judgement of tunes, or may calculate with extreme difficulty, is so much proof against the principle of abstract powers, as advocated by the metaphysicians. For my own part', continues this Writer, when I reflect upon the various talents and dispositions of persons who are all placed in the same circumstances,—how unsuccessfully some apply with the utmost perseverance to a branch of study, in which another, under the same instructors, or, perhaps, scarcely assisted at all, or even with every impediment thrown in his way, reaches excellence with little trouble, and again fails in one in which the first is, on the other hand, successful,—how early various tempers are developed among children of the same nursery,—how hereditary are peculiarities of talent and character,—how similar some persons are to each other in talent and character, and dissimilar in another respect, —how positively contradictory many points of the same character are found, &c., I confess myself unable to deny, that there is one innate faculty for numbers, another for colours, a third for music, &c. &c., with a variety of distinct innate sentiments and propensities; and that memory, judgement, &c. are but modes of action common to the different faculties.'

Now, into the physiological or metaphysical part of the argument, it is not our intention to enter; but the facts adduced will be allowed, whatever explanation they may admit of. And those systems of education in which these facts are more or less recognized, may not only in the same measure lay claim to novelty, but, in our estimation, to utility. We would not contend, that it is by any means right, in all instances, to give way to apparent disinclination as indicating incapacity. In some instances, the very inaptitude should serve as an incentive to greater diligence on the part both of the instructor and the pupil; and at all times, much circumspection should be called into exercise, when the existence of indolence or of deficient faculty is to be ascertained. Certain, however, it is, (so certain, indeed, that it requires no phrenological discoverer to descend from the clouds to confirm the fact,) that, under the assumption of general capacity being tantamount to particular power, much of undue severity has sometimes been exercised, even to the extent of defeating its own design. That such assumption has been deprived of its foundation, and weakened in its in-

fluence, by the liberal exercise of unbiassed observation, must be admitted as a fact in favour of the anti-scholastic principles of the present times.

The characteristic difference between individuals does not, indeed, consist in mere inaptitude for one or another branch of knowledge, or mode of intellectual exertion. A vast deal of dissimilarity obtains as to the effectiveness of the process of initiation in different individuals. Even in the common and familiar example of obtaining a mastery over a modern language, some will be most assisted in the acquisition by rules; others, by examples. One individual will employ his time and his powers more effectively in learning words; another, in learning grammar. We are acquainted with a Protestant minister, a German by birth, who preaches in London both in French and English, who is pretty fairly acquainted with every language of every country he has visited, and whose mode of acquiring each has been, by taking up a dictionary, and committing to memory every word,—his native tongue being the standard of comparison. For the inflections and idioms of the respective languages, he trusts to his general acquaintance with grammatical laws and his own individual comparison and observation. So wide, we repeat, is the diversity in the modes and kinds of mental faculty, even where the sum total of intellectual power may be equivalent. And this principle, once admitted, not only runs counter to the old notion of one species of initial instruction being adapted to all, but it also disproves the suitableness of those 'royal road' systems of instruction that are daily being put forth, and which, were they obnoxious to no other objections, are plainly opposed to the facts to which we have been adverting.

Upon the whole, we may venture the opinion, that innovations upon the old routine of instruction may, to a certain extent, be judiciously introduced; but that it behooves the reformer to be constantly aware of the tendency there always is to run into opposite extremes, in the adoption of any system. The road to science, although it may be made less steep and rugged, by the well directed labours of modern speculators and tacticians, is, and ever must be, difficult to travel, from the unalterable construction of the human mind, and from acquirement being essentially progressive. System may supersede system, and each be superior to that immediately preceding it; but a great deal of specific adaptation will be requisite, not only to different degrees, but to different kinds of mental ability. As science advances, however, technicalities recede; and it must be admitted, that truth, physical and moral, to be properly appreciated, nay, to be clearly discerned, must be freed from the

meretricious trappings with which she has been loaded, from time to time, by her professed admirers and guardians.

The Author of these 'Elements of Physics' sets out upon the principle, that natural philosophy does not demand for its successful cultivation a preliminary acquaintance with technical mathematics; and his labours are throughout characterized by a practical adoption of the creed to which we have above alluded, namely, that tuition usually commences at the wrong end.

As the advocates for the Hamiltonian method of teaching languages contend, that the study of grammar should succeed to the acquisition of words, and that it should be made to reflect upon that attainment to which, for the most part, it is made a preliminary; so would the present Writer say,—so, in fact, he does say:—'Teach the student things,—make him master of truths,—and then, if you please, confirm, and explain, and enforce these truths, by shewing what man has done in the way of systematic explication of them; how he has made the powers of number and of form to square with the phenomena which the universe unfolds, and systematically to assist in their elucidation and application.'

Than this work of Dr. Arnott, we do not recollect to have met with any publication more happily illustrative of his postulate,—that much may be effected without the aid of technical mathematics. No attentive reader of his book can rise from the perusal ungratified or uninstructed. And the more scientific reader must be surprised to see what can be effected by genius and taste in the way of softening down the ruggedness of scholastic initiation. Here we may observe, that the easy and agreeable style of Dr. A. is most happily adapted to subserve his purpose of rendering philosophy universally attractive. Of the fascinating manner in which he interweaves with scientific instruction matter of an entertaining or ornamental cast, we may give the following extracts as specimens. Speaking of the relation of forces, as instanced in the motion of the balance-wheel of a watch, in reference to the stiffness of its spring, Dr. A. takes occasion to advert to the exactness with which this principle is manifested in the construction of the chronometer.

'It would be exceeding the limit marked out for this general work, to speak more particularly here of those admirable watches which have been produced within the last thirty years, under the name of *chronometers*, for the purpose of ascertaining the longitude at sea; but the Author may perhaps be excused for mentioning a moment of surprise and delight which he experienced on first seeing their singular perfection experimentally proved. After months spent in a passage from South America to Asia, his pocket chronometer, and others on

board, announced one morning, that a certain point of land was then bearing east from the ship, at a distance of fifty miles; and in an hour afterwards, when a mist had cleared away, the looker-out on the mast gave the joyous call of 'Land a-head!' verifying the reports of the chronometers almost to a mile, after a voyage of thousands. It is natural, at such a moment, with the dangers and uncertainties of ancient navigation before the mind, to exult in contemplating what man has now achieved. Had the rate of the wonderful little instrument in all that time been changed even a little, its announcement would have been worse than useless;—but, in the night and in the day, in storm and in calm, in heat and in cold, while the persons around it were experiencing every vicissitude of mental and bodily condition, its steady beat went on, keeping an exact account of the rolling of the earth and of the stars; and in the midst of the trackless waves, it was always ready to tell its magic tale of the very spot of the globe over which it had arrived.

Again, under the head of Pneumatics, while expatiating on the principles and properties of steam, the Author introduces the following encomium upon the steam-engine.

'In the present state of this engine, it appears a thing almost endowed with intelligence. It regulates with perfect accuracy and uniformity the number of its strokes in a given time, *counting or recording* them, moreover, to tell how much work it has done, as a clock records the beats of its pendulum;—it regulates the quantity of steam admitted to work—the briskness of the fire—the supply of water to the boiler—the supply of coals to the fire;—it opens and shuts its own valves with absolute precision as to time and manner;—it *oils its own joints*;—it takes out any air which may accidentally enter into parts which should be vacuous;—and when any thing goes wrong, which it cannot of itself rectify, it *warns its attendants* by ringing a bell:—yet, with all these talents and qualities, and even when exerting the power of six hundred horses, it is obedient to the hand of a child; its aliment is coal, wood, charcoal, or other combustible;—it consumes none while idle;—it never tires, and it wants no sleep;—it is not subject to malady when originally well made, and only refuses to work when worn out with age; it is equally active in all climates, and will do work of any kind;—it is a water-pumper, a miner, a sailor, a cotton-spinner, a weaver, a blacksmith, a miller, &c. &c.; and a small engine, in the character of a *steam poney*, may be seen dragging after it on a rail-road a hundred tons of merchandize, or a regiment of soldiers, with greater speed than that of our fleetest coaches. It is the king of machines, and a perfect realization of the *Genii* of Eastern fable, whose supernatural powers were occasionally at the command of man.'

But we must no longer defer to give our readers some general account of the work itself; and our best excuse, perhaps, for having so long dwelled upon preliminaries is, that by so doing, we have but followed the example set us by our able Author himself.

The efficiency and merit of a system consist in nothing so much as a just classification and arrangement of the materials of knowledge. But, in forming such classification, two difficulties present themselves. Our knowledge of the absolute connection of things is, in the first place, so limited, that, in 'our attempts 'to philosophize, we suppose changes to be immediately successive, between which we afterwards find a multitude of effects to 'intervene.' Then again, on the other hand, as knowledge, or, what is the same thing, accurate observation proceeds, we find that facts and principles have been arranged under different divisions, which ought to have found a place under one general order. In the case of the electric fluid, for instance, the principle of its excitation had been for a long time considered as *sui generis*, or as not bearing sufficient analogy with any other circumstances in nature, to justify any analogical connection. Recent discoveries have, however, proved its alliance with chemical laws in a way that, before voltaic electricity was known, had not been even conceived of. Then, again, how far chemical attraction or affinity is a modification of the general law which regulates the approximation and recedence of masses and of particles, still remains a problem.

The following is Dr. Arnott's comprehensive arrangement of the general body of science, which we must give in his own words.

'The general laws of nature, divisible into the four classes of, 1st, *Physics*, often called *Natural Philosophy*; 2d, of *Chemistry*; 3d, of *Life*, commonly called *Physiology*; and, 4th, of *Mind*, may be said to form the pyramid of Science, of which *Physics* is the base, while the others constitute succeeding layers in the order now mentioned; the whole having certain mutual relations and dependencies well figured by the parts of a pyramid. We must describe them more particularly, to shew these relations.

'*Physics*.—The laws of *Physics* govern every phenomenon of nature in which there is any sensible change of place, being concerned alone in the greater part of these phenomena, and *regulating* the remainder which originate from chemical action, and from the action of life.—The great physical truths, as comprehended in the present day by man, are reduced to four, and are referred to by the words *atom*, *attraction*, *repulsion*, and *inertia*. It gives an astonishing, but true idea of the nature and importance of methodical *Science*, to be told that a man, who understands these words, *viz.* how the *ATOMS* of matter by mutual *ATTRACTION* approach and cling together to form masses which are solid, liquid, or aeriform, according to the quantity of *REPULSION* of heat among them, and which, owing to their *INERTIA* or stubbornness, gain and lose motion, in exact proportion to the force of attraction or repulsion acting on them,—understands the greater part

of the phenomena of nature ; but such is the fact ! *Solid* bodies existing in conformity with these truths, exhibit all the phenomena of *Mechanics* ; *Liquids* exhibit those of *Hydrostatics* and *Hydraulics* ; *Airs*, those of *Pneumatics* ; and so forth. And the whole of this volume is merely a list of the most interesting physical phenomena, arranged in classes under these heads.

Chemistry—Had there been only one kind of substance or matter in the universe, the laws of physics would have explained all the phenomena ; but there are *iron*, and *sulphur*, and *charcoal*, and about fifty others, which in the present state of science appear essentially distinct. Now these, when taken singly, obey the laws of *Physics* ; but when two or more of them are placed in contact under certain circumstances, they exhibit a new order of phenomena. Iron and sulphur, for instance, brought together and heated, disappear as individuals, and unite into a yellow metallic mass, which in most of its properties is unlike to either :—under other new circumstances, the two substances will again separate, and assume their original forms. Such changes are called *chemical*, (from an Arabic word signifying *to burn*, because so many of them are effected by means of heat,) but during the changes, the substances are not withdrawn from the influence of the physical laws ;—their weight or inertia, for instance, is not altered ; and indeed, the phenomenon is merely a modification of general *attraction* and *repulsion*. Many chemical changes besides are only the beginnings of purely mechanical changes ; as when the new chemical arrangement produced by heat among the intimate atoms of gunpowder, causes the mechanical or physical motion of the sudden expansion or explosion. And all the manipulations of *Chemistry*, as the transferring of gases from vessel to vessel, the weighing of bodies, pounding, grinding, &c., are directed by physics alone. *Chemistry*, then, is truly, as figured above, a superstructure on physics, and cannot be understood or practised by a person who is ignorant of physics.

Life.—The most complicated state in which matter exists, is where, under the influence of life, it forms bodies with a curious internal structure of tubes and cavities, in which fluids are moving and producing incessant internal change. These are called *Organized Bodies*, because of the various distinct parts or *organs* which they contain ; and they form two remarkable classes, the individuals of one of which are fixed to the soil, and are called *Vegetables* ; and of the other, are endowed with power of locomotion, and are called *Animals*. The phenomena of growth, decay, death, sensation, self-motion, and many others, belong to life ; but, from occurring in material structures which subsist in obedience to the laws of physics and chemistry, the life is truly a superstructure on the other two, and cannot be studied independently of them. Indeed the greater part of the phenomena of organic life are merely chemical and physical phenomena modified by an additional principle. The phenomena of life, from thus generally involving the agency of all the sets of laws, are by far the most complex of any ; and the discovery or detection of the peculiar *laws of life*, although these are as fixed as the laws of physics or chemistry, has been very slow, and is as yet far from being completed. We cannot as

yet explain, why the individuals of animal and vegetable classes live only for a limited time; why offspring inherit peculiarities of health or disease from the parents; why the various species continue distinct, &c. But many powerful minds of the present day, particularly among medical men, whom it chiefly concerns, are directed to the subject, and important results may be looked for. A vast number of facts have now been carefully observed and recorded, and to a certain degree *classified*; and perhaps some master-genius may soon arise, to shew that a very few simple truths connect the whole: as NEWTON, when he detected the general laws of *inertia* and *gravity*, shewed with respect to the inferior classifications in physics. The science of *Life* is divided into *animal* and *vegetable Physiology*.

Mind.—The most important part of all science, is the knowledge which man has obtained of the laws governing the operations of his own MIND. This department stands eminently distinct from the others, on several accounts. Unlike that of *organic life*, which could not be understood until physics and chemistry had been previously investigated, this had made extraordinary advances in a very early age, when the others had scarcely begun to exist. In proof of this assertion, we need only refer to the writings of the Greek philosophers. The most brilliant discoveries, however, were reserved for the moderns, as will occur to many readers, on perusing in the table below, the several divisions of the subject, and recollecting the honoured names which are now associated with each. It is truly admirable to see the modern analysis, deducing from a few simple laws of mind all the subordinate departments, just as it deduces mechanics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, &c. from the laws of physics: and let us hope that sound opinions on this subject, ensuring human happiness, and therefore, beyond comparison, more important than any other knowledge, will soon be widely spread. It is to be remarked here, that the laws of mind which man can discover by reason, are not laws of independent mind, but of mind in connexion with body, and influenced by the bodily condition. It has been believed by many, that the nature of mind separate from body, is to be at once all-knowing and intelligent. But mind connected with body can only acquire knowledge slowly, through the bodily organs of sense, and more or less perfectly according as these organs and the central brain are perfect; and even after knowledge has existed, the mind will forget, confound, draw insane conclusions, &c., if the brain be disturbed. A human being born blind and deaf, and therefore remaining dumb, as in the noted case of the boy Mitchell, grows up closely to resemble an automaton, ignorant of his God, his destiny, the universe in which he lives, and sensible only to certain impressions of pain and pleasure directly referrible to bodily states,—and an originally misshapen or deficient brain causes idiocy for life. Childhood, maturity, dotage, which have such differences of bodily powers, have corresponding differences of mental faculty; and as no two bodies, so no two minds in their external manifestations, are quite alike. Fever or a blow on the head, will instantly change the most gifted individual into a maniac, causing the lips of virgin modesty to utter revolting obscenity, and those of pure religion to speak

horrible blasphemy: and most cases of madness and of eccentricity can now be traced to a peculiar state of the brain. Man has a conviction, inseparable from his very being, that his soul is something distinct from his body, and awaiting other destinies: but, independently of Revelation, as is shewn in the laborious reasonings of the ancient heathen philosophers, his notions on the subject remain very vague.

Vol. I. pp. xx—xxiv.

In the following remarks on those branches of science which come under the general definition of Mathematics, it will be seen that Dr. A. considers them as holding a somewhat different place in the circle of knowledge, from what has for the most part been assigned to them by others.

Quantity.—To express most of the facts and laws of physics, chemistry, and life, terms of QUANTITY are required; as when we speak of the magnitude of a body, or say, that the force of attraction between two bodies diminishes as their distance increases. Hence arises the necessity of having a set of fixed measures or standards, with which to compare all other quantities. Such measures have been adopted; and they are, for NUMBERS, the fingers, or *fives* and *tens*; for LENGTH, the *human foot*, *cubit*, *pace*, &c.; and lately the *second's pendulum* and the French *mètre* (taken from the magnitude of our globe); for SURFACES, the simplest forms of *circle*, *square*, *triangle*, &c., compared among themselves by the lengths of their diameters or other suitable lines; and for SOLID BULK, the corresponding simple solids, of *globe*, *cube*, *pyramid*, *cone*, &c., similarly compared by the lengths of diameters and of other lines of dimension. The rules for applying these standards to all possible cases, and for comparing all kinds of quantities with each other, constitute a body of science, called the *Science of Quantity*, or the *Mathematics*. It may be considered as a fifth and subsidiary department of human science.' p. xxv.

The chief divisions of Science, according to the Author's Classification, are exhibited in the following table.

'Supposing *description of particulars*, or *Natural History*, to be studied along with the different parts of the *System of Science* sketched in the table, there will be included in the scheme, the whole knowledge of the universe which man can acquire by the exercise of his own powers; that is to say, which he can acquire independently of a supernatural *Revelation*. And on this knowledge all his arts are founded,—some of them on the single part of physics, as that of the machinist, architect, mariner, carpenter, &c.; some on Chemistry (which includes Physics), as that of the miner, glass-maker, dyer, brewer, &c.; and some on Physiology (which includes much of Physics and Chemistry), as that of the scientific gardener or botanist, agriculturist, zoologist, &c. The business of teachers of all kinds, and of governors, advocates, linguists, &c. &c., respects chiefly the science of mind. The art of medicine requires in its professor, a comprehensive knowledge of all the departments.

TABLE OF SCIENCE.

1. PHYSICS.

Mechanics,
Hydrostatics,
Hydraulics,
Pneumatics,
Acoustics,
Heat,
Optics,
Electricity,
Astronomy,
&c.

2. CHEMISTRY.

Simple Substances,
Mineralogy,
Geology,
Pharmacy,
Brewing,
Dyeing,
Tanning,
&c.

3. LIFE.

Vegetable Physiology,
Botany,
Horticulture,
Agriculture,
&c.

4. MIND.

Intellect.
Reasoning,
Logic,
Language,
Education,
&c.

Animal Physiology,
Zoology,
Anatomy,
Pathology,
Medicine,
&c.

Motives to action.
Emotions and Passions,
Justice,
Morals,
Government,
Political Economy,
&c.
Natural Theology.

5. SCIENCE OF QUANTITY.

Arithmetic,
Algebra,
Geometry,
&c.

Vol. I. p. xxv, xxvi.

It is only through the first of the above divisions that we are conducted by the Author; and even this task is not yet quite accomplished, Electricity and Astronomy still remaining to be considered; so that, tardy as is our notice of this work, (for we have in fact waited in hope of seeing its completion,) we could only give at present a partial and imperfect analysis of its contents, which we must reserve for a future Number.

- Art. III. 1. *Illustrations of the practical Power of Faith*, in a Series of popular Discourses on part of the Eleventh Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. By T. Binney. 8vo. pp. 390. Price 10s. 6d. London. 1830.
2. *Discourses on some important Theological Subjects, Doctrinal and Practical*. By the Rev. William Hull. 8vo. pp. xx, 232. Price 7s. London. 1830.

THE entire character of these two volumes is such as entitles them to more specific notice, than it is possible to bestow upon the greater part of the volumes of sermons that are continually issuing from the press. Our reason for placing them together, is, that the great article of the Protestant faith, Justification by Grace, is treated of in both, with some slight difference of opinion and statement. The publications are otherwise distinct in character.

Mr. Binney's volume consists, professedly, of popular discourses, written to be heard, rather than to be read. In a discourse expressly designed to waken the attention, to rouse the faculties, and to inform the understanding of a mixed assembly, it is necessary, the Author remarks, that a single thought should often be largely expanded, and variously expressed, in order that it may be fully apprehended before it is dismissed for another. The style of argument is required to be of a more declamatory cast, than is proper in written composition, and illustrations and phrases may occasionally be employed with propriety and effect, which would be in bad taste in a set disquisition. In short, composition, Mr. Binney observes, is a very different thing, 'according as we write for the ear or for the eye.' The correctness of this principle we fully admit; and we have indeed frequently had occasion to advert to the distinction. It is for this very reason, that we consider ourselves as not called upon to extend our critical notice to Sermons and Discourses in general. Our business, as Reviewers, is to report respecting the merits of authors, not the talents of preachers; and our concern with theology is chiefly as it comes before us in the shape of literature. According to our notions, the most effective style of pulpit instruction, is by no means such as would appear to the best advantage in print; nor do we think a preacher ought, in popular phrase, to 'talk like a book.' The principles upon which Mr. Binney may fairly claim to be judged as an author, would take the case of his publishing out of our court. A preacher, to be fairly judged, must be heard; or rather, must be tried by the practical test of his efficiency. When a Christian minister can refer, as the Author of this volume does, to the fruits of his labours, and to 'the sensible advantage' which he knows that some have derived from the

discourses as originally delivered, this appeal to a higher tribunal than that of criticism, precludes our treating him in the character of a mere author, although it will not be held to substantiate his claims to the literary honours of successful authorship.

Mr. Binney's discourses, however, while bearing the marks of having been composed for the pulpit, not for the press, cannot fail highly to interest and to benefit the reader. They are evidently the production of a man of no ordinary talents, and display considerable originality of thought, united to clear and simple views of Scriptural truth, a correct taste, and a heart susceptible of all the moral inspiration of his theme and office. There are indications too, especially in the 'dedicatory discourse', of a character eminently ingenuous and single-minded. Mr. Binney lays open his feelings and the circumstances attending the composition of these lectures, with the candour and confidence of a man unaccustomed to the policy of concealment. And the feeling manner in which he adverts to the causes that prevent or counteract the full benefit that might be derived from the discharge of the sacred office, is adapted at once to engage our sympathy on the side of the pastor, and to admonish the reader as to his own deficiencies in the manner of attending upon the instructions of the pulpit.

We may discover the same candour and ingenuousness in the manner in which Mr. Binney adverts to the doubts connected with the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews; but we must think, that they have, in this instance, betrayed him into a style of expression which falls below his own convictions, and is in itself exceptionable. The Epistle 'is supposed', he says, 'to possess an inspired character, and to be invested with canonical authority'. Had he regarded this as a mere supposition, incapable of proof, he would not, of course, have occupied 'about two-thirds of the sabbaths of three years' in expounding a book of doubtful claim to inspiration. Mr. Binney contends, that it is right to regard any striking instances of its resemblance to St. Paul's Epistles, 'as a presumption, at least, of its Pauline origin and its consequent apostolical authority'. We have so recently entered into this subject at considerable length, that we shall merely remark upon the impropriety of resting the unquestionable authority of this Epistle upon a presumption respecting its Pauline origin. Mr. Binney seems to us to pay too much deference to the cavils of those who have impugned the canonical authority of this Epistle; and in his wish to avoid dogmatism and rash assertion, to run into the opposite and not less prejudicial error of propagating doubt by the language of candour. 'Even allowing the book to be destitute of apostolical authority', says Mr. B., 'it is universally admitted to be a

'production of the apostolic age'. But the latter admission forbids the former supposition; especially when it is considered, that the Epistle is cited in the same way as the other canonical Scriptures, by the immediate successors of the Apostles *. In the ensuing pages, the Lecturer 'assumes the inspired character of the Epistle', of which, we doubt not, he feels assured. We have only to regret, that, in a series of popular instructions, he did not assume it as a point which none of his hearers, probably, had ever questioned, or otherwise shew more fully the unreasonableness of any scepticism on the subject.

The title of the volume will explain the design and character of the discourses. They consist of a series of biographical 'illustrations of the power of faith'. Of the vigour and spirit of these illustrations, the striking observations which not unfrequently occur, and the practical excellency of the discourses, we shall enable our readers to judge, by a few specimens. In glancing at the first two names which occur in the catalogue of faithful men, in the eleventh chapter of this Epistle, two sentiments, Mr. Binney observes, are strongly suggested.

'In the *first* place. The mention of Abel leads us naturally to inquire after the character of Adam: here is no mention of *his* faith, who, having taught his children to sin, ought to have taught them also how to believe and to repent. *He* stands not at the head of this cloud of witnesses, who, we should have expected, would have become as distinguished for the elevation of his piety, as he once was for his dreadful disobedience. It were natural to suppose that he should have been exhibited as an instructive example of penitence and faith, leading us back again to that Being whom he too successfully taught us to forsake. But this is not the case. The Holy Spirit, in none of his communications, has recorded any thing of the faith of Adam. However resolute and invincible it may ultimately have become; however nobly it may have led him to act when surrounded by subsequent temptations; and however brightly it may have illuminated his departing hour, when he came to taste the bitterness of that death, which he himself had introduced into the world; however, we repeat, the faith of Adam may have been distinguished by such "infallible proofs," the Scriptures maintain a solemn and fearful silence on the subject. They attach no worth,—they attribute no greatness,—to the character of the primitive apostate; they never hold *him* forth to the admiration of his offspring, to kindle in them the flame of devotion or the purposes of virtue. They say nothing, indeed, of his utter and hopeless impenitence, and therefore they allow us to believe that he was recovered and restored; but, by passing him over in this roll and record of the good, where one of his immediate descendants finds such an honourable place, they seem to mark his presumption and to commemorate his guilt. There is an audible and an eloquent voice in this

* See page 401 of our last volume.

very silence of scripture. We are taught by it both the displeasure of Jehovah against sin, and that to the second Adam, rather than to the first, we are to look for the means and the motives of repossessing our primitive preeminence.

'In the *second* place. We observe and are affected by the *contrast* between the fate of Abel and Enoch. The one was crushed to the earth by the hand of a brutal and ferocious murderer; the other was conveyed to heaven, most likely by the "ministry" of some benevolent intelligence. The one met death in its most repulsive form, and will probably be the longest tenant of the sepulchre; the other entirely escaped it, and was the first to possess the happiness of perfect and immortal humanity. There is something instructive, in these characters being placed side by side on the page of revelation. The strong contrast they form strikes the mind as something remarkable. It seems to furnish an illustration of the mysterious diversities of fact and circumstance, which are perpetually occurring in the moral government of God. When we see righteous Abel falling beneath the stroke of inhumanity and violence, we are ready to fear that God hath forsaken the earth. While our feelings are yet occupied with the painful apprehension, another and an opposite picture passes before us, exciting another and an opposite train of emotion. We are called to lift our eyes from the blood of the first martyr, and to behold a member of that very species upon which the sentence of death has been pronounced, escaping from this guilty world, without experiencing for a moment a pang of its bitterness; and we are as much astonished by the extraordinary interference of God in this instance, as we were confounded by the palpable want of it in the other; and we are taught, how cautiously it becomes us to pronounce on the character of Deity and the purposes of Providence, from single instances and isolated facts; how perfectly we may suppose harmony is preserved in the great whole, however inexplicable to us are particular appearances; and that, in the end, when we attain to that world where we shall no longer "see but in part," we may expect God to prove his own interpreter,—to develop to his people the hidden reasons and the relative consistency of those events in his government, which, at present, are as mysterious in their occurrence, as the apparent abandonment of distinguished faith, or the bodily translation of imperfect virtue.'

pp. 77—80.

The illustration of the faith of Noah, in the fifth lecture, is very beautifully and impressively drawn.

'God never brought a judgement upon any nation without previous, distinct, and intelligible warnings. This is a principle of the Divine government illustrated by the whole history of the church and the world. Lot warned Sodom; the Israelites, Egypt; their prophets, the Israelites; Jonah, Nineveh; Jesus and his apostles, Jerusalem and Judea. And thus Noah, both by his actual declaration of the "word of the Lord", and his building in the view of the people the vessel of safety, testified the Divine intentions, and warned the world of the "coming wrath". The perseverance of the prophet amid the complicated opposition which he had unquestionably to sustain, evinces

his unqualified confidence in the truth of God, and his uncommon vigour of principle and purpose. The work itself, which he was commanded to perform, required immense labour, and occupied many years. In the course of this time, subject, as he certainly was, to the fluctuating feelings of our common nature, many might be the doubts, and painful the suspicions, which his faith had to encounter and expel. The absence of all impression from his preaching, though accompanied, perhaps, with agonizing emotion; the apathy of a thoughtless, or the contempt of an incredulous age; the rejection of his message, and the ridicule of his fears; might all concur to repress his ardour, and constitute a severe test of his fidelity. That he was thus tried from without, by the conduct of men, and in a variety of ways, appears to me not only probable but certain. I doubt not that he was incessantly insulted,—scouted as a fanatic or a madman, for spending his time upon that which, it would be said, could never be of any use but to perpetuate his folly. It is generally supposed that arts and sciences were cultivated to a considerable extent by the antediluvians. Nature, at any rate, would be as bountiful and as unrestrained as at present, in conferring original capacity; or, perhaps, in her youthful achievements and primeval communications, she reached a standard and bestowed with a munificence which has never been repeated. There were then, I imagine, persons distinguished by every form of intellect and genius; there was native power and acquired perfection; there were poets, architects, philosophers, and other and brilliant modifications of mind, as we have them now; and every one of them, I can suppose, exerted their peculiar acuteness, and combined their separate ability, to pour contempt upon the man of God. When the matter was sufficiently known to become a topic of general conversation, crowds of persons would assemble to look at the work as it advanced, and to laugh at the labour and the apprehensions of the patriarch. One would ridicule its form and dimensions; another the absurdity of a ship upon a mountain; the philosopher might demonstrate the physical impossibility of the predicted fact; and the poet might exercise his wit in contemptuous ballads on the doating enthusiast. All this I think likely; and to sustain it all, year after year,—to preach without success,—to oppose apparently the intelligence as well as the frivolity of the age,—to act only to become a by-word and a jest,—this would require a faith of no ordinary character; and Noah's actual perseverance in defiance of it all, proved *his* to be distinguished by incomparable strength.

‘3. The last circumstance from which we illustrate the faith of Noah, is the calm confidence with which he committed himself to the Supreme protection, at the time of the actual catastrophe. It is true, this confidence would be greatly encouraged by two circumstances,—by the miraculous approach of many animals to the ark, and the commenced infliction of the threatening judgement. Both of these would assure him that he had not been deluded by imaginary impressions. There was still, however, a demand for firm and steady faith, as, at the moment of first entering upon danger, we often experience misgivings, which in prospect we anticipated not. After his protracted trials of another kind, *this moment* arrived to Noah. He was called to

the commitment of himself to the Divine disposal in a way which none had ever been called before. His work was finished,—his testimony given,—the world and himself were about to witness the truth or falsehood of his personal predictions. I know not but that a rabble attended his entrance into the ark, and shouted defiance to his warnings, and taunted him with the necessity he would soon find, of leaving his romantic retreat, and returning to the very same scenes he had been dooming to destruction. But he persevered,—too sensibly persuaded both of the faithfulness of God and the infatuation of mankind. “He entered the ark”, says the historian, “and the Lord shut him in”. What a moment must that have been! What a feeling must have succeeded this act of security! “*The Lord shut him in*”. What a new and indefinable sensation must then have absorbed his mind! He had taken his last look of the world and man; he was now, if we may so speak, sensibly suspended upon Deity. The windows of heaven and the fountains of the deep were opened; the elements descended, and the waters advanced; now, perhaps, numbers of those who had rejected his testimony were heard crowding to the ark, expressing penitence and imploring aid, when it was too late; at length, one by one, the voices were hushed; the water was perceived to prevail,—to destroy each individual as he became too weak to grapple with their force,—till, rising over all, extinguishing for ever their importunity,—diffusing the silence of death,—and lifting the ark from her foundations,—the prophet would feel the increasing necessity of reliance upon God, as he felt left alone amid the ruins of nature, abandoned to the agitated element, in danger of being tossed by contending currents, or dashed upon some yet uncovered elevation.’ pp. 149—153.

Not less striking is the reference to the antediluvian world, in the exordium to the seventh lecture, on the faith of Abraham.

‘The persons whose faith we have attempted hitherto to illustrate, lived, so to speak, not only in a former age, but in a former world. They existed previous to the deluge. They were conspicuous for their virtue amidst those portions of the species, whose depravity and crime gradually accumulating, at length so insolently insulted heaven, as to occasion the infliction of that tremendous catastrophe. By this event the whole frame of nature was convulsed. Much of the grand and the beautiful in the scenery of the primitive earth,—much that had at first excited the song, and perhaps the surprise, of superior natures,—and much that had prompted the expression and raised the rapture of patriarchal piety,—unquestionably perished. The scourge, however, was gradually removed. The waters returned to their place. Hills and valleys were formed and fertilized. The surface of the earth assumed its present aspect and appearances, and again became habitable by man. Man was continued as before. He sustained no injury; his nature underwent no change. The descendants of the second father of mankind were in all respects the same as those of the first, though, in one sense, the world upon which they looked was not. The same material, indeed, exists now, as existed in the days of the antediluvians; but its modifications and phenomena are probably dif-

ferent. Mountains and rivers familiar to *them*, endeared to their associations, and perhaps celebrated in song, are no longer to be seen; the primitive creation has been swept away, and features are impressed upon the globe which they never knew. With those persons, however, who are now to become the objects of our attention, it is otherwise. *They* occupied the very same world with ourselves. The countries in which they resided are still known by the same names. The mountains over which they travelled, or upon which they worshipped, are mountains still. The very same objects which met *their* observation, are presented to ours. The very manners and customs which they observed or practised, continue, without variation, among the inhabitants of those plains where they pitched their tents or erected their altars. This circumstance seems to give them an additional claim on our regard. It brings them into a closer contact with ourselves. It augments our interest by almost inspiring the persuasion that there is a nearer alliance between them and us. They are not divided from our sympathy by that mysterious Visitation, that came like the Destroyer of one world and the Maker of another. They existed upon *our* side of that curtain that fell on a devoted species. Their history is extended by such minute particulars, as awaken sensibility by acquainting us with their private and domestic concerns; by describing occurrences with which we are daily conversant, or anxieties which we all habitually feel.

‘This introductory remark has suggested a reflection, which it may not be improper, perhaps, to embody in words. We have been adverting to the fact of a former world. Has it never occurred to you how little information respecting the inhabitants of that world survived its destruction? It lasted, you remember, nearly two thousand years; its population was great; the arts and sciences were carried to considerable perfection; there were many eminent and illustrious individuals, “men of renown,” distinguished for their genius, their bravery, and their exploits; they were often, it is probable, celebrated as “immortal,” just as persons similarly distinguished are celebrated now. But where are they? “What was their name, or what was their son’s name, if thou canst tell?” Where was their “immortality” when the Eternal God “came forth from his place,” determined to destroy the theatre of their fame, and to cover the nations with confusion? Nothing has survived to excite *our* wonder, to tell us what they were, or what they achieved. The history of the whole two thousand years is contained in a very brief narrative; a few names have been preserved from the general wreck; but these, we imagine, are *not* the names of the men who were the objects of popular idolatry, and the proud expectants of immortal remembrance. No; the memory of such men perished with the world within which they had confined all their affections; the names of a few others survive, who were ridiculed or despised by their corrupted contemporaries, but who were ultimately honoured by that Being in whom they confided, and for whom they lived. And thus, my brethren, will it be with the world that now is, as it formerly was with that which preceded it. “The righteous,” and the righteous only, “shall be had in everlasting remembrance.” The wicked are reserved to “shame and everlast-

ing contempt." Many who are now celebrated as "immortal," and who have received the honours and the acclamations of society, are only, with all this, passing along a splendid path to ultimate forgetfulness: while those, however obscure, who are "rich in faith," have their names written "in the Lamb's book of life," and are heirs of "the glory, honour, and immortality" which are to be conferred "at the revelation of Jesus Christ." "*The world passeth away and the lust thereof, but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever.*"

pp. 177—181.

We must make room for the following admirably just and instructive reflections.

'The first remark, suggested by the call of Abraham, seems naturally to be this,—that, the existence of pure religion in our world, depends upon the gracious interposition of God. This will admit both of a general and a particular application. In *general*, we mean to assert, that, unless God had communicated, after the apostacy, successive revelations of himself, in order to counteract the effects of that apostacy, the world, at this moment, would have been sunk in the most profound ignorance of the Being that made it. What has Reason ever done, at any period, by its unassisted exertions? Nothing. Nay, it has done *worse* than nothing; for, it has been too proud to acknowledge its ignorance, and therefore it has been employed in defending the aberrations of impiety and error, and in investing superstition itself with such decorations, as might diminish its grossness or conceal its deformity. So far as it is possible to ascertain, Reason has never conceived correctly of God. The further we penetrate into the infancy of nations, we find their faith proportionably pure. It seems as if they retained something like truth, while they continued to trust implicitly to tradition; but that, as soon as ever philosophy presumed to interfere, "professing themselves wise, they became fools."

'Not only has man been proved to be unequal to the *discovery* of truth; but, even when truth has been discovered for him,—when it has been actually revealed and put into his hands,—he has betrayed an utter inability to keep it. He has been unable to preserve it from admixture or defect. The whole world, more than once, has corrupted its way, positively departing from communicated knowledge. In fact, the history of man, is nothing but the history of successive apostacies. The primitive revelation imparted to Adam, and by him, of course, to his offspring, was soon either corrupted or lost, till scarcely a vestige was correctly retained. By the circumstance of the deluge, religion was restored to something like purity; it was virtually reformed; it was reduced to its first and simple elements, and placed in the hands of a few persons, to be preserved and perpetuated by them and their descendants. The very same event, we have seen, occurred. It was again rapidly corrupted and lost. Man, indeed, or at least, society, cannot subsist without a religion. Human nature is essentially religious; it *must* have something as an object of worship; and hence, even at the time to which we are adverting, the earth was covered with altars and filled with devotees;—but they were the shrines and the subjects of idolatrous devotion.—Now, *that* Reason, which had

proved insufficient to *preserve* religion, was not likely to *discover* it when lost. That guide, which could not keep us in the path when we were actually there, was not likely to lead us back again after we had wandered. And hence, unless God had interposed, as in the case of Abraham,—unless, that is to say, he had checked, *by miracle*, the inevitable tendency of our apostate nature; I see not how this world could ever have possessed any thing like a pure or rational religion.

‘The argument still admits of further illustration. It is confirmed by the history of all ages *subsequent* to the event from which we are deducing it. The tendency to defection was soon developed, in the favoured descendants of Abraham himself. It was seen, not only during their residence in Egypt, where, we may admit, they were dangerously circumstanced; but even afterwards in their own land, where every thing concurred to check its operations. After they had so often witnessed the immediate and miraculous agency of God; after they had received so much knowledge by direct communication; after all this was enshrined and protected, as it were, in written documents and by positive institutions; one really would have supposed it was next to impossible, for this tendency to continue to obtrude itself: and yet, what is their history? Nothing but the detail of its successive appearances! It was constantly leading them from the true God; involving them in ignorance, and prompting them to idolatry. It was for this, that themselves and their inheritance were, at length, apparently abandoned; that they and their “little ones” were taken captive; that Zion, “the perfection of beauty,” was burned with fire; and “the place of their fathers’ sepulchres” laid waste. But, after their return,—after the reformation and re-establishment of their faith and worship,—after all they had seen, and all they had suffered,—what was the effect?—The very same process was repeated again! The form of the thing was considerably modified, but its character and essence continued unchanged. They were less addicted to palpable idolatry—to the prostration of their bodies before the work of their hands; but they were more abandoned to intellectual offences—to the perversion of the design and spirit of the Record. They became a nation of sophists and Sadducees,—of sanctimonious hypocrites, and “philosophical believers.” The Son of God, when he appeared, hardly found faith existing among them, and he pointedly exposed the depth of their degeneracy, when he charged them with “*corrupting the Law by their traditions*.”—The argument may still be illustrated, by adverting to the fate of the New Dispensation. After this was committed to the custody of man; after a more perfect form of truth was imparted, and ampler means for preserving it devised; why, even then, we see the same tendency to abandon or debase it, *re-appearing* in the Christian Church! It began to show itself under the very eye of the apostles; “the mystery of iniquity did already work;” its symptoms soon became palpable and portentous; they gradually increased, in virulence and number, till, in a subsequent age, the splendid enormity of the “Man of Sin” exhibited a monument of moral apostacy, unparalleled, perhaps, in the annals of the universe.

‘Such, my brethren, have been the *achievements* of the human intellect, under direct and traditional divine assistance. Admirable

proof of the sufficiency of Reason! Glorious demonstration of its claims as a guide! What *could* have been done by this boasted attribute, if God had never interposed, when it seems to have been employed only to pervert his successive revelations?—or, if not employed to pervert them, has, at least, proved itself incompetent to their custody. In this fact, we seem to have a stronger proof of its weakness and perversion, than in all that can be urged, from its unsuccessful attempts to rise superior to Gentile superstitions.' pp. 189—194.

The other volume before us is of a less popular and more elaborate cast. It may be described as consisting of a series of theological prelections on the following subjects. I. On the Extent of the Sacrifice of Christ. II. On the Nature of that Faith which secures the Blessings of Redemption. III. On Christian Assurance. IV. On the Sealing of the Holy Spirit. V. Christ an Example of Solitary Prayer. VI. The Sabbath an Emblem of the Heavenly Rest. The publication originated in the unanimous request of the students of the Wymondley Theological Institution, that the Author would send to the press a volume of sermons. 'In the selection of the subjects, he has been guided by what he conceives to be the prevailing spirit and character of the times.'

The first discourse has for its object, to oppose the tenet, that the death of Christ had an exclusive reference to the salvation of the elect. Instead of entering upon this subject, which would lead to somewhat extensive discussion, we are tempted to extract, as illustrative of Mr. Hull's own theological views, and at the same time as a piece of very vigorous composition, the following comparative view of the writings of Baxter and Edwards:

'Of the happy effects produced on the Christian ministry by the more enlarged interpretation of the extent of the death of Christ, as implying a probationary state,—a subject touched upon in the conclusion of the first discourse,—a striking illustration occurs in the preaching and writings of Richard Baxter, compared with those of Jonathan Edwards. Both were men of prodigious intellect, and of piety not less distinguished, so that it would be difficult to select their equals from amongst the greatest and best of the human race. It is therefore extremely interesting to observe the different effects produced upon the minds of such men by their different views of divine truth. Something, no doubt, may be put to the account of original character and temperament, which led to the adoption, by each, of their several views of the divine administration. But again, their principles would tend to fix that character, and foster that temperament. Baxter, proceeding on the broad ground of the Scriptures, and making his metaphysics subservient to a scheme of doctrine accordant with the unsophisticated moral sense, is remarkable for the fervour and energy of his appeals, the tenderness of his expostulations, the glow of expansive feeling with which he portrays the love of God to a revolted world, and

the noble freedom with which he applies the various topics which suggest themselves to his mighty genius, to the hopes, the fears, the trembling passions, the awakened reason, the consciousness of responsibility, which no guilt of apostacy has expelled from the human breast. He takes his stand upon the unassailable principle—"No man in the world doth perish for Adam's sin alone." The theology of Edwards, more systematic, and apparently more consistent, because its doctrines were squared to a metaphysical theory, was founded upon absolute predestination, not to be distinguished from the philosophical necessity of Hartley, Hume, and Priestley, but by the attempt to engraft upon it the great doctrines of Christianity, and to reconcile with it a moral administration, terminating in eternal rewards and punishments. His preaching and his practical writings, accord precisely with what might be expected from such a system, embraced by a man of transcendent ability and devotion. In his hortatory addresses to the ungodly, while he aims to awaken his own sensibilities, with a view to the sympathy of others, it is evident that his native intensity of feeling is oppressed by some deadening power, some dark spell which sits with leaden and icy influence upon his soul. His address has the awfulness, together with the cold and dreary majesty, of fate; and when he discourses on his favourite topics, "The wicked useful in their destruction only,"—"Sinners in the hands of an angry God,"—"the justice of God in the damnation of sinners,"—it is with a calmness that is terrible—the unperturbed tranquillity of a man who has reasoned out his point, and then pronounces his stern conclusion with the oracular voice of destiny. When Baxter, as in the *Saint's Rest*, describes the misery of those who lose it, he makes us feel that he was a man of like passions with others, that his own spirit flinches and recoils from the contemplation of scenes, which duty compels him to exhibit to a regardless world. Like the Redeemer, he weeps over lost souls. But when Edwards suspends the reprobate sinner, as by a hair, over the flaming abyss of perdition, we feel as if in the presence of one of the ministers of divine wrath, who has himself no compunctious visitings of nature, but with complacent firmness executes the judgements of Heaven. Nor are we surprised, after witnessing his own self-possession while indulging in the most appalling imaginations, to be told by him, that to behold the miseries of the lost, will be a capital ingredient in the cup of immortal fruition. "The wicked," he says, "will be destroyed and tormented in the view of the saints and other inhabitants of heaven; when the saints in heaven shall look upon the damned in hell, it will prove to them a greater sense of their own happiness; the misery of the damned will give them a greater sense of the distinguishing grace and love of God to them, that he should from all eternity set his love on them, and make so great a difference between them and others, who are of the same species, and have deserved no worse of God than they. When they shall look upon the damned, and see their misery, how will heaven ring with the praises of God's justice towards the wicked, and his grace towards the saints!" While we revere the memory of each of these illustrious servants of God, it does not seem difficult to determine which of the two breathed most of the spirit of Christ; and the pre-

sumption is in favour of that class of principles, whose tendency was to produce the nearest resemblance to the apostolic ministry.'

pp. xi—xv.

It is well to call no man master in religion. Of Baxter and his theology, we shall have an opportunity of taking a review, in connexion with the valuable legacy bequeathed to the Christian public, in the memoir of his life and writings by the late Mr. Orme. Of the American divine also, other works on our table will require us to speak. Mr. Hull does not, we presume, mean to represent the orthodox world as portioned out between these two great divines, or to place us in the dilemma of choosing between them. He must be well aware, that there are other writers who have left far more decidedly the impression of their opinions upon our standard and current theology, whose views would not harmonize on all points with the theology of either Edwards or Baxter. The view of the extent of the sacrifice of Christ, which Mr. Hull advocates, will be controverted, however, by few intelligent persons in the present day; especially when guarded by the explanation, that, on the one hand, 'it cannot be understood to mean, that all the fallen race will actually partake of the entire benefits procured by the death of Christ, or, in other words, be eventually saved in virtue of his mediation';—and that, on the other hand, Christ 'had not died at all, but on the certain foreknowledge of bringing many sons unto glory.'

In all that Mr. Hull says of the Antinomian scheme, we fully concur; but we apprehend that Antinomianism occupies in the mental perspective of many persons, a much wider proportion of the sphere of vision than belongs to its real dimensions; or, to change the figure, that, in laying down its territory in the map of the religious world, a serious error is committed by the undue extension of its boundaries. The subtile spirit of Antinomian *selfism*, may prevail, indeed, far beyond the extension of the creed; but, in the definite form of a scheme, or system of opinions, we believe Antinomianism to be *not* on the increase. It is the *malaria* of the moral world, a subtile, invisible pest, infesting the fairest parts of the Church under the full blaze of truth,—produced by the very elements of life and joy, where man's supineness has suffered the waters of life to stagnate into ooze and mire. It is not to be combated by staking off the infected places, but by planting, draining, and cultivating them.

The design of the Author, in the second discourse, is to illustrate the proposition, that 'saving faith takes its character, not so much from the truths which it receives, as from the religious principle with which it is allied, and from which it derives its vitality as a stimulus to confidence and obedience.'

"A man is justified by faith alone, without works of law," there is no contradiction or discrepancy; since the works which Paul excluded

‘A cold persuasion of the truth of Christianity,’ Mr. Hull remarks, ‘or a speculative belief of its essential doctrines, may very possibly exist apart from religious principle and the devout affections. In this way the arch-fiend himself believes and trembles. But saving faith is the exercise of a mind under the ennobling influence of religious integrity. Hence its unreluctant submission to the whole discovered will of God. The same renunciation of self, the same yielding of the soul to the parental dominion of the Deity, which leads to the acceptable acknowledgment of one revealed fact, will prepare the mind for a similar adoption of whatever may appear to be the will of God.’

‘This applies with all its force to our reception of the divine testimony respecting Christ. The *whole* of that testimony will be regarded with equal reverence. The Redeemer will be an object of faith, not more in one of his mediatorial offices, than in another; not more as the priest and the sacrifice, than as the prophetic teacher and sovereign Lord of the church. Nor can any statements be more unscriptural than those which limit the efficacy of saving faith to the one particular act of embracing the Saviour in his vicarious sacrifice, or, as it is sometimes expressed, laying hold of the righteousness of Christ. Faith is frequently described by theological writers, as being simply the hand which is held out to receive the gift of justification through the righteousness of Christ. Such views are adopted through a jealous apprehension, lest some moral virtue should be assigned to faith; lest it should seem to partake of the nature of a *work*; and thus, assuming a meritorious character, detract from the grace of God, and divide with the Saviour the glory of our redemption. In all this there is great misconception. Not only does it exhibit this transcendent grace as exercising an influence much less potent and universal over the religious character than is assigned to it by the inspired writers; not only does it overlook the fact, that although the mediation of Christ is the meritorious ground of our justification, nevertheless the *faith itself* of the believer is that which is invariably spoken of in Scripture as that which is “counted,” “imputed,” “reckoned,” to him for righteousness; but, moreover, it confounds the most obvious distinctions—the principle of faith as a divine grace, and one of its particular acts; an act, indeed, of stupendous consequence, but still an act whose value, after all, is nullified—nay, the very performance of which, in any saving or evangelical sense, is impossible, apart from the gracious principle which gives to every act of religion its acceptableness with God. To this we may add, that the most exalted views we can form of the moral influence of faith, the most extensive domination we can assign to it as bringing the whole of revealed truth to bear upon our characters, instead of derogating from the work of Christ, serve to magnify it, since it is for his sake, and through the merits of his intercession, that the spirit of faith is vouchsafed to all believers.’ pp. 65—67.

Referring to the statement of St. James, that a man ‘is justified by works, and not by faith only,’ Mr. Hull says:

‘Between this statement of St. James, and that of St. Paul, that “a man is justified by *faith alone*, without works of law,” there is no contradiction, no discrepancy; since the works which Paul excludes

from our justification, are not those which flow from saving faith, but such works of law as unregenerate man attempts in his own strength, and on self-righteous principles, as a ground of justification with God, and, through the sinfulness of his nature, is unable to perform. The two apostles do not speak of two different kinds of faith, nor of two different kinds of justification, the one of a sinner, the other of a believer. There can be but one faith that justifies, and it is that which, in the expressive language of the New Testament, "purifies the heart", and "worketh by love",—that particular act of faith which embraces the Saviour in his sacrificial character, leaving in its full force every previously existing obligation to moral righteousness, while it supplies additional motives of the most cogent and generous nature, "to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world."—pp. 71, 2.

In an appendix to this discourse, Mr. Hull further vindicates his interpretation of St. James's language, and pleads for the reasonableness of explaining and qualifying by his statements, those of St. Paul. He seems also to impute to those persons who take a different view of the subject from himself, the influence of that 'previous bias which modern theologians of every school must almost unavoidably bring to the study of the Scriptures.'

'There are but few men to be found', he says, 'whose minds are not trammelled by the authority of great names, or by the prejudices of education, fostered by the early and continued habit of viewing an important subject only in one light, and of searching professionally for arguments to be employed in defence of long-cherished opinions, regardless of such arguments as may make against them. To this may be added, the unconscious, perhaps, but real apprehension of compromising themselves with the particular church or denomination of Christians to which they belong, and with whom they might impair their credit, their influence, or their usefulness, if suspected of a departure in any minute instance from the received "faith and order." Under such circumstances, men of upright and conscientious minds come to the decision of difficult or controverted passages of Scripture, subject to influences extremely unpropitious to the discovery of truth.'
pp. 219, 220.

There is, doubtless, much truth in these remarks; but we cannot regard them as very pertinent to the occasion; and they expose the Author to the disadvantageous imputation of classing himself with the few who have happily emancipated themselves from all the trammels of prejudice. We cannot conceive that a person would feel the least danger of compromising himself with any religious party, by adopting Mr. Hull's view of the passage in question, which is a very old one, and has many respectable commentators on its side; but we must take the liberty to add, that many persons, not less untrammelled by great names or educational prejudices, have come to a very different conclusion. Without ranking himself among these,

the Writer of this article may be permitted to say, that he had at one time adopted the exposition which Mr. Hull regards as the true one, but that maturer consideration has led to the conviction, that it is erroneous.

When Mr. Hull asserts, that the two Apostles do not 'speak' of two different kinds of justification,—he cannot mean to deny that two different kinds of justification are spoken of by the sacred writers; or that the word so rendered is not used with a considerable difference of meaning. When God himself is spoken of as being justified in his decisions,—when Wisdom is said to be justified by her children,—a very different kind of justification must be intended, from the justification of a guilty person by an act of sovereign clemency. Yet, even in the former two connexions, the word is used in a somewhat varied acceptation: in the one, it has evidently a forensic allusion, in the other, it seems to be simply a conventional phrase. That St. Paul uses the word in a forensic sense, will scarcely be questioned; although we must confess that we consider his phraseology as by no means happily rendered in our Authorized Version. Mr. Binney thus explains the nature of justification.

'Justification is a term taken from judicial proceedings. It supposes an examination into conduct by comparing it with the requirements of some law. It is of two kinds, proper or improper, or primary and secondary. The first is, when the examination terminates in *favour* of the individual. He is proved and pronounced to be, literally and in fact, all that the law requires. This is justification proper. The second sense of the term, refers to the delivery from punishment of a convicted offender. In this case, the examination terminates *against* the individual. He is proved and pronounced not to be what the law requires. A pardon, however, being granted, destroys the connexion between his conduct and its consequences. This is justification improper, or secondary.' p. 320.

But does not this confound justification with pardon? Whereas it is admitted, that something different from mere pardon is intended by the expression. A man may be justified, who is neither pardoned nor acquitted, by the simple fulfilment of the penalty. When the fine or debt is paid, when the term of imprisonment or punishment has expired, the sentence of condemnation being fulfilled, the man is clear in the sight of the Law. Now the Scripture doctrine of a propitiation implies, that the reversal of man's condemnation proceeds upon the full satisfaction of the Divine law. He who knew no sin has, by his own blood, paid the penalty, blotted out the bond that was against us, "nailing it to his cross." Mr. Binney, of course, in his subsequent statements, recognizes and insists upon this doctrine. 'That on account of which pardon is granted to man, is the death of Messiah or the Christ.' (p. 366.)

But, although this is clearly the doctrine of Scripture, the true import of the Apostolic representations, it does not follow that the word which we render justification, and with which we have learned to connect a technical or scholastic meaning, every where, or indeed any where, expresses all this. The terms *δικαίω* and *δικαιοσύνη* are not terms primarily taken from judicial proceedings, not mere forensic terms, any more than the English verbs, to right, to vindicate, to justify, or the corresponding nouns, right, claim, vindication, justice. They are but common terms capable of being used in a forensic sense, and taking their specific import from the connexion in which they occur. Neither the genius of the Greek language, nor the principles common to all languages, will admit of the narrow, scholastic interpretation which has been attributed to the terms of Scripture in their Latinized and semi-barbarous form. 'Many of the terms 'of divinity,' Mr. Douglas justly remarks, (in a volume we hope to notice in our next Number,) 'still seem associated with the 'gloom' of the dark ages; they are not taken, generally, in 'their freshness and purity, from the Scriptures.' The influence of the Latin Version upon the English Translation, and upon the language of theology, has been, in some respects, most unhappy. Our Translators have been so intent upon giving the literal meaning of single words, as often to lose sight of what is very different, the faithful meaning of the whole sentence. Nothing can be more absurd, as a rule of translation, than the rendering of the same word in the original, uniformly by the same word in another language, in defiance of the opposite associations they are respectively adapted to awaken. In the Rhemish Testament, the term *δικαιοσύνη* is almost uniformly rendered 'justice,' in servile conformity to the Latin *justitia*. Thus we read:—'The justice of God is revealed 'therein from faith to faith'—'Abraham believed God, and it 'was reputed to him unto justice'—'A seal of the justice of 'the faith which he had.'—'Christ . . . is made unto us wisdom 'and justice.' 'Him that knew no sin, for us he hath made sin, 'that we might be made the justice of God in him.' 'Take 'heed that you do not your justice before men.' 'So it be- 'cometh us to fulfil all justice.* Had these renderings occurred in our own Version, they would, no doubt, be admired, or at least defended, as specimens of literal fidelity. If, however, the design of a translation be, to convey to the illiterate the sense of the original writer, it is needless to say that the design is completely frustrated by such unintelligible phraseology.

* Yet, in one instance, Acts xvii. 31., it is rendered *equity*; and at Rom. viii. 10. *justification*.

Schleusner has certainly gone to an extreme in multiplying the acceptations of the terms of Scripture; and this is a fault common to most lexicographers. The word, in many cases, bears no such meaning as he ascribes to it, taken by itself; and yet, the whole phrase in which it occurs, may convey the meaning which he attempts to force upon the term. For instance, one of the senses which he ascribes to the term under consideration, is *benignitas, misericordia, lenitas*,—terms which seem almost the opposite to justice and equity; nor can we consider them as an appropriate rendering of the Greek term. And yet, it is undeniable, that, in the connexion in which it occurs in the Apostolic writings, it refers to an act of clemency on the part of God. In Rom. i. 17, 18, the terms *δικαιοσύνη* and *ὀργή* are clearly opposed to each other, and might fairly be rendered, amnesty and punishment.

The English language contains no single word, any more than does the Latin, which answers to *δικαίω*, or to *δικαιοσύνη*, in all its acceptations and bearings. The word that affords the closest analogy to it, perhaps, in its extensive latitude, is the term right. To right, is to restore a person's right, to do justice to an injured party; to serve a man right, however, means to punish an offender; to set right, is to correct a mistake, or to arrange what was in confusion; to set a man right with others, is to clear his character, to reconcile the parties; to do right, is to act according to one's duty. Right, is correct, fit, proper, just, true, genuine, direct, safe. The same word, used as a substantive, implies a claim, a vested interest, truth, freedom from error, justice. Now, to this word, in its various forms, the Greek term seems very nearly to answer. *Δίκαιος* is a man who does what is right, an upright man; *δικαίως* is rightly; *δικαίω* is to administer justice, that is, to right; also, to set right, and, in some of its inflexions, to do right, and to be right. But the idiomatic use of these terms in the two languages, is so different as to forbid our translating one by the other in a thousand instances. If the English idiom would not admit of being literally rendered into Greek, why should it be attempted to render the Greek idiom literally into bad English?

Our Translators have themselves deviated very widely from the rule which at other times they seem servilely to adhere to; that of rendering a term in the original uniformly by the same word in English. For instance, *δικαιοσύνη* is rendered, righteousness, justification, alms. (Matt. vi. 1.) Why they have preferred the word righteousness to justice and equity, in places where the latter terms would be most appropriate, and quite as literal, it is hard to say. Wickliffe generally employs the word *rightwisnesse*, but he, in one place, renders it by *equyte*. Were Herodotus or Xenophon to be translated on the principle of the

Authorized Version of the New Testament, they would be not less unintelligible than many parts of the inspired writings appear to the English reader.

If we would understand the meaning of an author, or of a speaker, we must attend not so much to the words he uses, as to the way in which he uses them. The process of induction by which a child arrives at the meaning of words, is the only way by which an adult can learn a new language. Words are continually acquiring new shades of meaning; and yet, of the hundred senses of which the same word is susceptible, there is no difficulty felt in fixing upon the one which the obvious meaning of the sentence requires. Had this fact been attended to, Theology would have been darkened and disturbed by fewer logomachies.

The conclusion to which these remarks seem to conduct us, is, that there is no propriety in the constant iteration of the words righteousness and justify, as the representatives of the Greek terms referred to. The proper business of the Translator is, to ascertain from the connexion and general scope of the passage, the meaning of the sacred writer, which is 'the mind of the Spirit,' and to render it in unambiguous, intelligible, idiomatic English. St. Paul and St. James cannot mean the same thing by the term which has been rendered justified, for this clear and sufficient reason; that they are speaking of things as distinct as the remission of a sentence and the attestation of a character. There is nothing in the language of St. James to lead us to suppose he is using the term in a forensic sense. He cites, indeed, the same declaration from the Old Testament, that St. Paul adduces for a different purpose: "Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness." St. Paul refers to this declaration to shew, that Abraham had no previous moral right or legal claim to the promise, or rather to the inheritance promised; that it was not conferred upon him as that which he had merited; but that his faith was counted to him instead of such merit or claim; that what was purely gratuitous on the part of God, became his in virtue of his believing in the Divine promise. In the same way, St. Paul shews, we must embrace the promise extended in the Gospel to all who believe, as originating in the gratuitous mercy of God; and to us, in like manner, our faith shall be counted in lieu of any moral claim, if we believe in Him who raised our Lord Jesus from the dead. St. Paul never means to say that faith efficiently justifies a sinner at the Divine tribunal: it is the death of Christ that is the ground of his acquittal, and faith is accepted instead of a personal justification. He obtains an interest in the Divine amnesty by virtue of his faith. But a culprit does not clear himself when he obtains a pardon. "It

"is God who justifieth." And when it is said, that we are justified or delivered from condemnation through faith in the Divine promise, in contradistinction to any merit or claim in us, it can never mean that our faith has any propitiatory efficacy, or that it clears us in a moral sense. We are justified by faith, only as we are pardoned by faith. Nor is faith accepted in lieu of personal holiness, but in lieu of legal satisfaction on our part, that satisfaction having been rendered by another. Such is, in our judgement, the true import of St. Paul's doctrine.

St. James is treating, not of the ground of pardon, but of the nature of faith; and he cites the same Scripture that St. Paul had done for a different object, for the purpose of shewing, that Abraham and Rahab proved *their* faith by that signal display of it, on account of which they have 'obtained a good report'—an honourable memorial. Nothing can be more forced and unnatural, than to consider St. James as speaking of the ground upon which Rahab obtained the pardon of her sins. Her faith was the means of her escaping from the destruction in which her nation was involved, and of her being numbered with Israel; but it was a faith evinced and attested by her actions, and by her actions, she was approved or justified. In like manner, the faith which can alone save us, is a living, efficient principle, evinced by its fruits. But in what way does this undoubted truth clash with St. Paul's declaration, that it is through believing, irrespectively of any deeds of obedience, any meritorious claim, that a sinner becomes interested in the Divine amnesty? No doubt, Rahab's conduct was meritorious; Abraham's faith was meritorious: if there be any virtue, any merit, faith like theirs deserved the name; and it met with its reward. But neither faith nor works can propitiate the Divine justice, or clear the sinner at God's tribunal. The justification of the believer, is purely gratuitous through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus. We shall all be judged hereafter according to our works. We are justified in the sense of acquitted,—we obtain a right to the promise of Divine forgiveness, by faith,—that is upon our believing,—apart from all previous deservings. This faith is a vital principle which is perfected in obedience; by this only can we overcome the world, and persevere in a Christian course; and by our works, as the only evidence of our principles, our profession must be justified.

'I believe,' says Mr. Binney, 'in the merit of good works: only observe what *kind* of merit it is. Good works have no merit in relation to our pardon, but they *have* a merit in relation to our faith.' We do not clearly understand the latter part of this statement; but we conceive, that we may safely allow good works to be in fact meritorious, agreeably to the fair

usage of words, and the dictates of common sense, so long as we adhere to the grand fundamental article, that neither faith nor any thing man can do or suffer, can propitiate the Divine justice, or have a satisfactory efficiency; and that the forgiveness of the sinner is, in the case of every child of Adam, purely gratuitous on the part of the Moral Governor of the Universe, being on the ground solely of the propitiatory offering of the Son of God.

We trust that we need not apologize for the length to which these observations have extended, or for the appearance of repetition in some of our statements. When we find a writer of Mr. Hull's unquestionable ability treating the whole subject as a verbal dispute, and confounding a title to the general amnesty with the final salvation of a believer, it cannot be deemed a superfluous labour to attempt, with whatever success, a clearer illustration of the Scripture doctrine. Mr. Hull's words are:—

'After all, the distinction that is attempted between the justification of a sinner by faith, and the justification of the faith of a sinner by works, is only verbal, a mere logomachy, not substantially affecting any great question—not yielding the least real advantage to those who make justification depend upon the simple act of faith, to the exclusion of the works that follow it.'—p. 224.

We will concede to Mr. Hull, that, in common with many other theological differences which consist more in the various statement of truth, than in a real opposition of sentiment, the distinction is so far a logomachy, that the pious Arminian, the pious Baxterian, and the pious Antinomian, all substantially believe that they will be saved through Christ, by grace. But no portion of error is absolutely harmless; and crude statements of truth give a great advantage to those who are on the side of error. The distinction to which Mr. Hull refers, we have sufficiently shewn to be something more than a verbal one. It is impossible, upon the principle of interpretation for which he contends, to make common sense of the Epistle to the Romans. '*The doctrine of salvation by faith alone*', we admit that St. Paul never taught, nor is it taught by any 'devout and intelligent preachers.' The doctrine of *justification through faith alone*, St. Paul *did* teach in the most unequivocal language; and it is the cardinal article of Protestantism. It is more—the great burden of the Gospel, the doctrine of the Cross, the only doctrine that can disarm the enmity of man's heart against his Maker, or put the believer in possession of that peace which passeth understanding. That Mr. Hull holds the very doctrine he in words impugns, we are fully persuaded; but we must protest against his statements as chargeable at least with much verbal inaccuracy. We will not charge him with being

trammelled by authorities or prejudices ; but we call upon him, as a man superior to all the infirmities which compass modern theologians, to reconsider the phraseology he has adopted. As we ventured to remark in reference to Mr. Bunting's theory of a 'second justification', we believe that his error is logical, more than theological, and that he himself lives in the enjoyment of that peace with God which is the fruit of Divine forgiveness *. Let it not be supposed, that we are assuming infallibility for our own statements : beyond the mere way of putting them, they are, indeed, not ours, except so far as we make any truth our own by long and patient investigation, issuing in a deep conviction of its certainty. We are aware of the superficial attention usually vouchsafed to theological articles in a periodical journal ; but we do not write for the frivolous ; and if the topic does not command attention, we cannot help it,—we have discharged what we have felt to be our duty.

The remainder of our task will be of a more agreeable nature. The third discourse in Mr. Hull's volume, on Christian Assurance, is highly judicious and valuable. Without pledging ourselves to an entire concurrence with the Writer in all his views, (we allude more particularly to his statements respecting the nature of the Christian's probation,) we cannot but strongly recommend to our readers an attentive perusal of this able, temperate, and scriptural exposition of a doctrine much obscured by crude and fanatical notions. Not less beautiful as a composition or admirable in point of sentiment, is the ensuing discourse on the sealing of the Holy Spirit. We must make room for the following paragraphs.

' From the admonition which immediately follows our text, it would appear that nothing is more offensive to this Divine Agent—nothing breathes a more deadly hostility against the moral purposes for which he was given to our fallen race, than the unkind, the ungenerous, the unbrotherly, the perverse and malignant passions of the human breast—passions which are at once subversive of the calm repose and self-possession of a religious mind, and destructive of social happiness in the family, the church, and the world. It is the design of Christianity to restore the broken harmony of the moral world, by the production of a spirit of universal good-will and holy charity, to unite in bonds of immortal amity—man with man—saints with angels—the spirits of the just with the entire family of the virtuous and the good—and all the sons of light with God. And whatever malignancy of feeling, or treachery of friendship, or violation of the sweet and goodly charities of the human breast, are at variance with the accomplishment of this project of infinite benevolence, will be resented with the frown of the Holy Spirit ; that Spirit who, in his descent upon our Lord at his baptism, assumed the form of a dove, beautiful emblem of his benig-

* See page 231 of our last volume.

nant and peaceful reign ! Therefore "let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking, be put away from you, with all malice : and be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God, for Christ's sake, hath forgiven you."

'Nothing, perhaps, has tended more to the extinction of these beautiful charities, than the rivalry, the jealousies, the dissensions, the embittered controversies of sects and parties. It is not my intention to trace to their origin these interminable feuds in the church of God, by an exposure of those intolerant measures, those efforts to produce by coercion a uniformity of faith, those violations of the rights of conscience, and impositions of unscriptural terms of communion, which first of all have compelled the minority, in various instances, either to recede, or basely to surrender the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free. We have now to take the fact as we find it, and to suggest its evils and its remedy. The charge of sectarian hostilities, carried on in the spirit of angry warfare, and conducive to any cause rather than that of truth, which with every party is the ostensible pretext, is equally applicable to disputants within and without the pale of the Established Church. In the present state of things, every real or supposed discovery of an important truth, instead of being a contribution to the common fund, so much thrown into the public treasury, to subserve the interests of the universal body of the faithful, by an accession to its knowledge and its piety, is the rallying point of a new party, and the signal for warfare. All this is in express violation of the apostolic precept, "Keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, and grieve not the Holy Spirit whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption." This is not to hold the truth in love. This violation of concord by rival denominations, has produced incalculable mischiefs. Within the bosom of the Christian church, it quenches the Spirit by extinguishing brotherly kindness ; and abroad, it confounds the weak, perplexes the doubtful, and gives occasion of triumph to the ungodly. Nor can it fail to retard the progress of Christianity, by substituting intestine feuds for that combination of zeal and charity, that sublime and simultaneous effort for the conversion of the world, which being viewed with approbation by the Divine Paraclete, might insure his blessing, and bear down all opposition. The religion of Christ, it cannot too often be reiterated, is the ministry of reconciliation ; and it is the office of the Spirit, by giving efficiency to this ministry, to repair the breach which sin has made in the social order of the universe, by the abolition of enmities. So long, therefore, as resistance shall be offered to his pacific influences by the pride and obstinacy of party-spirit, which yields nothing for the sake of reciprocal accommodation, and even thinks it liberality enough to abstain from avowed hostility, or from acts of coercive violence, as if Christian charity were a mere negation,—the prospects of the church and of the human race are overhung with gloomy discouragement. Whereas a general dissemination of better feeling would be the auspicious omen of the regeneration of the nations ; nor perhaps, in that case, would the hope be too romantic, that, in some future age, will be realized the beautiful, but hitherto visionary conception of a universal church, in undivided communion all over the world.

‘ If the preceding remarks are just, there may be some reason for moderating our expectations of any considerable outpouring of the Holy Spirit, until existing causes of offence against the Spirit of grace, are removed by a return to the simplicity and soundness of the primitive religion. That the spirit may be *resisted, grieved, quenched*, cannot be denied, but by a rejection of the testimony of the Scriptures; nor can it but appear presumptuous, to supplicate extraordinary communications of his grace, if there are evils permitted to continue, which are known to be obnoxious to his righteous indignation. The first step to be taken is a resolute and conscientious effort to get rid of these evils. At any rate, our earliest supplications for the grace of the Spirit, should have in view the removal of those obstacles which, on every consistent view of the Christian theology, must be regarded as opposed to his more copious effusions. Any other line of conduct would be more allied to ignorant fanaticism or empirical imposture, than to religious sobriety of mind; and will more probably be resented as an affront to his sanctity and his majesty, than approved as a devout acknowledgement of his grace.’ pp. 147—154.

We have already given the titles of the other two discourses, and have left ourselves no room to advert to them more specifically. It is no ill compliment to say, that on such a topic as Mr. Hull has selected in the fifth discourse, he seems at home, and appears to most advantage. It is in some respects the most interesting discourse in the volume.

Art. IV. *Narrative of a Tour through some Parts of the Turkish Empire.* By John Fuller, Esq. 8vo. pp. 560. London, 1830.

THIS volume ‘ was not originally intended for publication ’; nor did its Author set out on his travels with the wilful intent to make a book. His object was simply, he says, to amuse himself. Consequently, he was neither so minute in his researches, nor so careful to note his seeings and doings, as a regular Traveller. Had he traversed regions unknown or rarely visited, we should not readily have forgiven his gentlemanly indolence in this particular, nor the tardiness of his publication. We heard of his exploits some seven years ago; for we recollect that when Captains Irby and Mangles returned to Cairo from Upper Egypt, the Writer of this volume had just started for the Cataracts. Wadi Elfi, we learn from Chapter VII., was his *ne plus ultra*; and he there fell in with a flotilla of boats belonging to Mr. W. Bankes and his companions, who were returning from an unsuccessful attempt to penetrate into the higher country. The adventure failed, in consequence of their camels having been driven away or stolen by the drivers, at the instigation, it is supposed, of their own servants, who did not relish the fatigue and danger of the journey. In 1820, how-

ever, Messrs. Waddington and Hanbury penetrated as far southward as the extremity of Dongola. Burckhardt crossed the Nubian Desert to the Abyssinian frontier; but gentlemen travellers are not very fond of leaving the banks of the Nile, nor do we blame them. Crossing the desert is no recreation; and neither Sennaar nor Foor holds out any powerful attractions. Nevertheless, we think that a premium could not be better bestowed by any Society desirous to promote geographical discovery, than on the individual who should first succeed in ascending the White River to the ferry at Hellet Allais, and in reaching Lake Tchad by that unknown route.

Mr. Fuller commences his travels with Naples, Corfu, and the Morea. From Athens, he proceeded to Smyrna and Constantinople. He thence sailed for Alexandria, and ascended the Nile to the Second Cataract. Returning to Damietta, he proceeded by sea to Jaffa, 'went up to Jerusalem', visited Jerash, Acre, Dehr el Kamr, Damascus, Balbec, and Palmyra, and after an excursion or two in Syria, embarked for Cyprus, and thence sailed to Rhodes, Smyrna, and Zante. A tolerably extensive and varied excursion this, which appears to have occupied (including a stay of nearly twelve months in Syria) about three years. The narrative is pleasingly written, without any affectation or pretence of any kind; and if it does not add much to our previous information, it takes us rapidly through scenes which, often as they have been described, never fail to delight and interest the imagination. The moral of the tale, is thus given in the concluding paragraph, which will shew the general temper of the volume.

'An Englishman who makes the tour which I did, can hardly fail to return strengthened in the proud conviction, that without civil liberty and equal laws, no nation can be permanently great and flourishing; although, as a friend to mankind, he may be glad at the same time to have learned, that a fertile soil, a genial climate, and a bright sunshine, may produce much individual happiness, even in those countries where Trial by Jury is unknown, and the writ of Habeas Corpus runneth not.' p. 560.

Of the happiness which a genial climate and bright sunshine can bestow, a poetical Traveller has taught us to form a proper estimate.

'But small the bliss that sense alone bestows,
And sensual bliss is all the nation knows:
In florid beauty groves and fields appear;
Man seems the only growth that dwindles here.'

So the Poet sang of Italy: what had he said of Turkey and Egypt?

Any regular analysis of the present volume would be quite a

work of supererogation. All that either the Writer or our readers can expect, is, that we should select a few paragraphs as a sample of its lively and amusing contents. As we seldom hear much about the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the following account of the state of things in Apulia at the time of our Author's journey, will not be uninteresting.

‘ The Apulian provinces, which under the more vigorous government of the French had with difficulty been kept in subjection, on the return of the Bourbon dynasty fell into a state of disorder little short of open rebellion. In addition to the grand society of Carbonari, which was diffused over the whole kingdom, and as to whose real designs much uncertainty seems still to prevail, others of a less doubtful nature were organized in these provinces, under the various names of Patrioti, Philadelphi, and Decisi. Of these the professed objects were all nearly the same; though the last, as its name implies, was more bold in the avowal of them, and comprehended in its ranks all the most desperate characters in the country. Its members were initiated with various frightful ceremonies, and were bound together by the strongest oaths. Their commissions or certificates of admission to the Society, one of which was shown to me, were ornamented with representations of skulls and cross-bones, and the more important passages were written in blood. Their principal badges were a black flag and a dagger; and the meaning of these emblems, in itself obvious enough, was further explained in a sort of creed or catechism which was placed in the hands of the initiated. The professed objects of the society were benevolent and philanthropic; but under the specious pretext of “ War to the Palace and Peace to the Cottage”, they spread terror, rapine, and assassination among all classes of the community. The members were regularly organized in greater and smaller divisions, called camps and sections; and they met openly for training and exercise, even at the gates of the great towns. Lecce alone could muster several hundred; and it was calculated that the whole number enrolled in the two provinces amounted to from thirty to forty thousand armed men.

‘ The Government, alarmed at these formidable combinations, determined on appointing to the command of the district Lieut.-Colonel Church, whose energetic character had been displayed in raising and disciplining a Greek corps in the English service: and in the autumn of 1817, he repaired to his post, with about fifteen hundred Neapolitan troops, and four or five hundred Albanians, who were glad to rejoin the standard of their old commander.

‘ The malcontents seem to have been overawed by this imposing force; and after a smart action at Marsano, in which a large party of them was defeated, no serious resistance was offered, except by a small corps headed by the priest *Ciro Anichiarico*, a man whose courage and enterprise might have qualified him to shine in a more honourable situation. He belonged to a family of respectability in one of the provinces, and had risen to some rank in his order; but being disappointed in his hopes of further preferment, and thinking that his pretensions were unjustly neglected, he changed his pursuits, and became one of the most daring leaders of the bands of the Decisi. The acts of

atrocities which had been committed by himself and his followers leaving him no hope of pardon, he boldly took the field at the head of about 150 men, and having the advantage of a perfect knowledge of the country, sustained himself for several days against the very superior force which was brought against him. He probably expected to be relieved from pursuit by a general insurrection of his associates; but finding that this did not take place, and that his followers were gradually dropping off and seeking safety in flight, he formed the resolution of shutting himself up with six or seven of the most desperate, in a solitary "masseria", or farm-house, near Grotaglia. In a country so subject to the attacks of banditti, these are generally places of strength; and he was able to defend himself against the troops for three days. During this time he kept up a brisk fire of musquetry, and killed several of the assailants, till at length his ammunition being exhausted, and his little garrison suffering severely from want of water, he was forced to surrender. He was immediately tried by a court-martial, and met his fate with perfect unconcern. An officer who told me the story, asking him just before his death in how many assassinations he had been implicated, he coolly replied, that he could not recollect the exact number, but that he had committed sixty or seventy with his own hand.

'A military commission was still sitting at Lecce, for the trial of those who had been concerned in the late outrages, or who were members of the obnoxious associations. The president was a colonel of the provincial militia; and as far as I had an opportunity of judging, the proceedings were conducted with coolness and impartiality. Many of the accused were connected with respectable families in the provinces, and their fate of course excited considerable interest, though this was in a great degree lost in the general feeling of satisfaction which pervaded all ranks of the community at being freed from the thralldom of the Decisi. The sentences of the court-martial were all referred to the commander-in-chief of the district, who, being armed with the *Alterege* or full delegation of the royal authority, had the power of enforcing them without appeal. About eighty persons in all paid the forfeit of their lives: but of these it was satisfactory to learn, that not one suffered for political offences only,—all having been found guilty of assassination, or of some other crime equally deserving capital punishment. The good-will which the General seemed to have universally conciliated, even in the execution of so unpleasing a duty, was a sufficient proof that his power had not been exercised with undue severity.' pp. 9—13.

The improvements which had taken place in Corfu, in the interval between the Author's first and second visits to the Island, were so decided as to force themselves upon the most cursory observation.

'In 1812, the most ordinary articles of foreign manufacture were scarcely to be procured, and, from the total want of inns, a stranger who did not happen to have an introduction to some member of the Government, or some officer of the garrison, might run a very fair

chance of passing the night of his arrival *à la belle étoile*. In 1822, there were several well supplied shops ; a large hotel had been opened in a fine situation on the Esplanade ; a new palace had arisen, built by native workmen, and ornamented with sculptures and bas-reliefs by a native artist, a pupil of Canova. A university had been founded ; and what was, perhaps, scarcely less important, the Government was beginning to turn its attention to the state of the roads, and the establishment of communications with the interior.' pp. 21, 22.

That some abuses prevailed, Mr. Fuller remarks, can scarcely be doubted ; but as little doubtful is it, that the prosperity of the Ionian Islands has increased since they have been under British protection. The two most arbitrary measures,—the abridgement of the feudal privileges of the nobles, and the resumption of the Church property, have been most important benefits conferred upon the people. Well would it have been for Greece, if the Morea and Crete could have been taken into the same Republic.

In his route overland from Smyrna to Constantinople, our Author ascended Mount Olympus ; and his description of the ascent may be given, we think, as a specimen of the art of relating a thing in as few words as possible, and with a most thorough-bred calmness of manner, at the furthest remove from the vulgarity of enthusiasm.

' Early in the morning, we set out to ascend Mount Olympus. We were provided with some very excellent ponies, active, sure-footed, and accustomed to the steepest paths. The mountain rises immediately at the back of the city, and we entered the first or woody region as soon as we had passed the gates. Our road, which was sometimes excessively steep, rugged, and overgrown, led us up one side of a deep ravine. As we ascended, we had frequent views through intervals in the trees and coppice-wood, over a wide extent of rich level country, bounded by a ridge of low hills which separate it from the sea of Marmara. In about two hours we had passed the first region, and arrived at the second, an open barren plain, where the rich verdure of the chestnut forest we had left, was exchanged for the dark gloomy tints of some scattered pines. The formation seemed to be chiefly of granite, large blocks and masses of which lay heaped together ; sometimes in such regular forms, that, had it not been for their enormous bulk, they might have been taken for artificial structures. A great many small fragments of variegated marble were scattered over the surface of the ground, and the interstices of the larger rocks were filled with juniper, dwarf cypress, and arbor vitæ. After riding along this tract for about an hour, we came to a beautifully clear stream, where we halted ; and our guide informed us that the way was no further practicable for horses. As I saw, however, the highest point of the mountain rising from this table-land, apparently at no great distance before us, I did not like to return without having visited it ; and leaving my companion, who was not disposed to go any further, with

the servants and horses, I walked on with the guide. His cumbrous dress, however, did not permit him to accompany me far over the rough ground and through the juniper bushes which we had to pass; and he very soon sat down on a stone, and made signs that he should wait my return. I then proceeded alone, and reached the summit in about two hours without any great difficulty. The ascent to the highest point on the west and south-west sides, is gradual; on the north and north-east, it is abrupt, and intersected by a deep chasm,—the crater probably of a volcano, in which there remained a great deal of the last winter's snow. A ridge of thin slaty stones heaped up like shingles, formed a natural causeway across this chasm, communicating from its outer edge with the topmost peak of the mountain, which was chiefly composed of the same loose material.

The weather was unfortunately rather hazy, otherwise the view is magnificent, extending quite across the sea of Marmara to Constantinople. As it was, I could see the gulfs of Mudania and Nicomedia, with the lake of Isnik (Nicæa) a little to the eastward, half concealed among hills. Towards the south, ranges of mountains extend one beyond the other as far as the eye can reach, none of them rising higher than the middle region of Olympus, so that from its summit they are seen in a bird's-eye view; and to the west I could trace almost the whole of our last two days' journey along the plain of Mohalitsch, and the lake of Apollonias. We did not see a single human being during our excursion; but we passed several ruinous hovels of the Turkmen, who at certain periods of the year, when the plains are parched by the sun, drive their cattle into the mountains to graze on the patches of herbage which are found near the banks of the torrents.

Descending from the summit of the mountain, and following the course of a little stream, in about two hours more I rejoined my companions; and after I had rested a while, we set out on our return to Brusa. pp. 66—68.

The narrative of a voyage up the Nile, can now derive little interest from either novelty or adventure. The police of the country under the present King of Egypt, is so good, that there is no such agreeable excitement from banditti and perilous escapes, as in the times of the older travellers. 'The voyage from Cairo to the Cataracts,' says Mr. Fuller, 'might be performed with as much security, and almost with as much ease, as an excursion on the Thames; and in my progress up and down the Nile, I fell in with not less than five or six parties of Englishmen, and several of other Europeans.' The following remarks upon the effect of the Egyptian architecture, as compared with the more graceful forms of the Grecian orders, are well worth transcribing.

'I spent the day among the ruins of Denderah, which, like almost all the ancient remains in this country, will be more admired at the second than at the first visit. It is necessary, indeed, to be habituated in some degree to Egyptian architecture, in order duly to appreciate its merits. To a traveller fresh from Italy or Greece, whose eye has

been accustomed to the light style of Palladian architecture, or even to the more solid proportions of the Doric, the temples on the Nile can scarcely fail at first view to appear heavy almost to deformity. The intercolumniations will seem too small, the pillars crowded, and the ordinary form of them,—especially when, as is generally the case, they are buried to a considerable depth in rubbish,—extremely clumsy; while the ornaments will be thought monotonous in design and redundant in quantity. It is only after repeated and attentive observation that these unfavourable impressions wear off, and we become gradually sensible of the grand effect produced by the vast size of the buildings, by the massiveness of the masonry, the strength of the columns, the variety of the capitals, the graceful inclination of the outer walls, the simplicity of the mouldings, and the bold curve of the cornice. The happy adaptation of the style to the climate, will reconcile us also to some of its peculiarities. In more temperate regions, a single peristyle was sufficient; here, a deeper portico, frequently containing four rows of columns, was necessary to protect the worshipper from the rays of an almost vertical sun. The ornaments too, it may be observed, however crowded, are always made subservient to the principal design; and at that point of distance where the architecture is seen to the greatest advantage, the sculpture for the most part is no longer distinguishable. Even among the grotesque and monstrous compounds of men, beasts, and birds, with which every part of the buildings is covered, some figures may be found, whose forms and countenances shew plainly what the artist was capable of performing, if (as I have before remarked) his genius had not been cramped by his subject. Strength, durability, and shade, seem to have been the objects of the architect; and in pursuit of them he has attained grandeur. Dignity, serenity, and repose, were what the sculptor aimed at expressing; and he has frequently produced beauty.

Good taste in the combination of colours, seems natural to the inhabitants of the East even at the present day; and artists who have examined critically the paintings in the tombs of the kings and elsewhere, which remain in perfect preservation, have been surprised at the knowledge of effect which the ancient colourists possessed. It is not produced, they say, by the purity or brightness of any particular tint; but, as in the works of the Venetian school, by that perfect arrangement which will not allow any part, however unimportant it may appear, to be altered, without injuring the effect of the whole composition. pp. 230—232.

Of all the graphic works published on Egypt, not one can be found, Mr. Fuller says, which does complete justice to the ancient monuments, or which can convey an accurate notion of their effect. The *Grand Livre* of the French Institute, is inaccurate to a degree scarcely to be credited by those who have not had an opportunity of comparing it with the originals. The drawings of Bossi, which have been published in lithograph by Cooper, are praised as faithful and characteristic representations of the scenery and inhabitants; but the amplest details

and the best descriptions of the temples, will be found in Hamilton's 'learned and accurate work.'

At Cairo, where Mr. Fuller was detained for some time a prisoner by the plague and other untoward circumstances, he fell in with an extraordinary individual, whose portrait and history cannot fail to interest our readers.

'We were sitting this evening after dinner muffled up in our cloaks, when our attention was suddenly attracted by the voice of a person in the court, who was talking very loudly in English, and earnestly requesting or rather demanding to see Mr. Salt. Presently the Italian servant ran into the room, begging us to interpret the meaning of the stranger, whose vehemence seemed to have thrown him into great alarm; and we ourselves were a little surprised, when we saw him followed in by a man of very wild appearance, whose figure in the dusk looked almost gigantic. His head was covered with close curling hair, his chin with a short tufted beard, and his nose flattened to his face gave a most ferocious character to his aspect. His legs and arms were bare; the remainder of his person was covered with a flowing white drapery, over which was thrown the skin of some wild animal. A short sword hung by his side, a small round shield over one shoulder, and he brandished a spear in his hand, while he attempted with impatient gestures to explain his meaning to the astonished Italian. He became more calm, however, when we addressed him in his native language, to which he said he had been long unaccustomed, and informed us that his name was Nathaniel Pearce, that he had been one of Lord Valentia's attendants, and had left him to settle in Abyssinia, where he had remained fourteen years. In consequence of some disturbances which had of late broken out in that country, he had determined, however, to leave it, and had come to Cairo by Mr. Salt's advice. From the singularity of his attire, the guards at the gate of the city would not believe that he was an Englishman, and refused him admittance for some time; and his vexation at this detention, and the consequent loss of some of his baggage, he gave as an excuse for the violence of his manner when he first presented himself. My companion was I found already acquainted with his story, and we begged that an apartment might be assigned him, where in the course of the evening we paid him a visit. We found the floor strewn with Abyssinian arms and curiosities, among which was a cage containing a beautiful animal of the civet-cat kind, which he had brought from the forests of Tigré. His wife, an Abyssinian woman named Tringo, though of a deep copper complexion, and though worn down by the fatigues of a long and perilous journey, retained some traces of beauty, which joined to an air of deep melancholy, gave her altogether a very interesting appearance. She was sitting cross-legged on a mat; and close crouching and half hid behind her was her servant, a little woolly-haired, half-naked girl, called Cullum, who seemed full of fun and gayety, and delighted with the novelty of the scene.' pp. 150, 151.

* * * * *

'The real vicissitudes of this man's life need hardly fear to be put

in competition with the fabled adventures of Robinson Crusoe. Like that hero, he was born of respectable parents, and received a tolerable education, but his wandering disposition soon led him into the sea-service, and at the very commencement of his career, while yet a boy, he shewed signs of the enterprising spirit by which he was afterwards distinguished. He was taken prisoner in an action immediately preceding the memorable First of June, and was confined at Vannes, in the same prison with a number of the victims of the French revolution. With some of them he plotted an escape; but being arrested before they could reach the coast, he was compelled to witness the execution of his unfortunate companions, who were shot one after the other on the *glacis* of the fortress, and was warned that the same fate awaited him if he again engaged in such an enterprise. The threat did not deter him, however, from making another attempt, and this time he succeeded in conveying a party safely on board an English cruiser. He afterwards entered on board a man-of-war (the *Sceptre* I believe), which was lost near the Cape of Good Hope. He sunk with the wreck, and after suffering the pains of drowning, (which he described as not being very severe,) was brought to life again by the care of some Dutch settlers on the coast. He then went into the India Company's service on a voyage to China, but landed at one of the Malay Islands, and remained among the natives there till the ship returned from Canton. He was subsequently on board a ship of war stationed at Bombay, from which his restless spirit again tempted him to roam; and he joined the army of the Peishwa, who was then at war with the English. Peace, unluckily for him, being soon afterwards concluded, he was given up as a deserter, together with several others of his countrymen, and they were confined in the fort at Bombay, and ordered to be tried by a court-martial. He contrived, however, to make his escape by swimming to the main-land, fled to Goa, and engaged himself as a sailor on board Lord Valentia's ship, which he found lying there. In this capacity he went to the Red Sea, where the ship having suffered some damage in a storm, was forced to put back to Bombay. Pearce, not venturing to return thither, went ashore at Mocha, and as a further protection embraced the Mahometan faith; but he soon became tired of his new profession; and having incurred some suspicion that his conversion was not sincere, he was glad to make his escape, and to rejoin Lord Valentia when he heard of his reappearance on that coast. He then accompanied Mr. Salt on his journey into Abyssinia, and being pleased with the country, determined on settling there; and entered into the service of the Raas Welled Selassee, viceroy of the province of Tigré. Having distinguished himself highly in several of the military enterprises of that warlike chief, he was placed in the command of a considerable body of troops;—married a relation of the Raas's wife; and Mr. Salt, on his second visit to Abyssinia, found him living in great wealth and respectability, and highly esteemed by the natives. At the death of the Raas, however, the Galla negroes, a powerful tribe on the frontiers of Abyssinia, who had been kept in check by his military prowess, made a successful irruption into the country, and Pearce was stripped of all his property, and obliged to fly into the mountains, where for a long time he endured

the greatest sufferings, from want and disease. When tranquillity was again restored, he retired to the city of Antalow, and remained there for some time in poverty and distress ; till at length, determining to place himself again under Mr. Salt's protection, he fled with one of his wives, (the Abyssinian Christians being indulged in a plurality,) and arrived at Cairo in the manner which I have before described. His wife survived but a few months : and soon after her death, he set out for England, in the hopes of being employed to explore the interior of Africa,—a service for which, from various circumstances, he seemed to be peculiarly qualified ; but he had only reached Alexandria, when he was carried off by a violent disease, at the age of little more than forty years,—“ though few, yet full of fate.”

‘ He was a man of superior intellectual powers, of great observation, and able to communicate his thoughts in an original and vigorous style. Some of the letters which he wrote from Abyssinia to the East India Company's resident at Mocha, were published in the Asiatic Journal, at Calcutta ; and he kept up also a regular correspondence with Mr. Salt, and had a large collection of manuscripts full of valuable information on his adopted country. These, at the persuasion of his friends, he intended to publish on his return to England, accompanied by a memoir of his eventful life ; and when I left Cairo, he was busily engaged in preparing them for that purpose. What became of them after his death, I have never heard ; but it is not likely that they will now ever see the light, and his name and history will remain in unmerited obscurity. He was altogether an extraordinary character. Great warmth of temper, and an unbounded spirit of enterprise, were the sources of all his errors. His good qualities were courage, activity, intelligence, and zeal in the service of his employers. These I had full opportunity of observing during more than eight months that he was my constant, and frequently my only companion ; and I am happy to pay this tribute to the memory of a humble but much valued friend.’ pp. 256—260.

Two English gentlemen whom the Author met with at Cairo, (Mr. Stevenson and Dr. Armstrong,) on their way from Bombay to England, after escaping from the cholera at Bombay, and from the plague in Egypt, fell victims to the malaria fever in Greece ! Mr. Fuller was himself attacked with the same fever, while encamped at a little village near Latakia in Syria ; and he attributes his recovery to the cautious and judicious treatment of the disease by his Greek physician. At Athens, our Author passed the winter of 1821, 2, most agreeably.

‘ Athens was at this time a most delightful resting-place, and it was not simply to the recollections or to the relics of antiquity that it owed its attractions. A variety of happy circumstances conspired to give it that indescribable charm which induced many travellers to while away months there without any determinate object, and permitted few to leave it without unfeigned regret. Placed in the centre of a dry and healthy plain, which is protected on the north and east by mountains, and open to the sea on the south, the climate, with the exception

of a few weeks of rain and storms early in the year, and of intense heat in the height of summer, may be called a perpetual spring: the skies are often for days together without a cloud; the trees being all ever-green, banish the idea of winter; and the turf at Christmas is covered with anemones in full bloom. The surrounding scenery, if not of the grandest, is of the most beautiful order, and it is peculiarly characterized by an air of tranquillity and repose. The mountains slope gently down and melt almost imperceptibly into the plain; the sea, broken by promontories and islands, exhibits the placid surface of a lake; the ground, though it cannot boast of any rich verdure, harmonizes in colour with the pale green of the woods and the clear blue of the atmosphere; and the majestic remains of antiquity combine happily with the landscape, and present themselves at every step in a new and picturesque point of view. He who has once stood on the hill of the Museum, and has seen the long range of Mount Hymettus tinged with the purple hue of the heath and wild thyme, the cone-shaped Anchesmus rising gracefully from the plain, and the airy summit of Pentelicus beyond it; the solitary columns of the temple of Jupiter, the golden-tinted Parthenon, and the rocky hill of the Areopagus; the vast olive grove changing its hue perpetually from the brightest to the darkest green as the light clouds flit over it; the pine-covered slopes of Mount Parnes, the distant summits of Parnassus, the acropolis of Corinth, and the mountains of the Peloponnesus; the port of the Piræus, and the gulf of Salamis with its indented shores;—will never forget the impression produced by an assemblage of objects as unique perhaps with regard to natural beauty as to classical interest. pp. 530, 531.

A stranger, if not very fastidious, might find at Athens all the accommodations that he could desire: there was an hotel kept by an Italian, who had formerly been servant to an English gentleman, and several very comfortable private lodging-houses belonging to respectable Greek families; or if he preferred greater retirement or more classical associations, he might be received at the Capuchin convent, and might lay his pillow in the Lantern of Demosthenes. The necessities and even the luxuries of life might be procured at a very moderate rate, and in tolerable abundance. Vegetables and fruit were brought in from the gardens of Patisia, a neighbouring village; the bees of Hymettus furnished us with honey, and the vineyards of Zea with wine. Of meat and poultry there was no great variety, but their place was supplied by fish and game; and an epicure might excuse the monotony of a table at which red mullets and woodcocks were standing dishes.

The Franks residing at Athens were few in number, but almost all of them were persons of talent and information; artists chiefly, who having been led thither by professional pursuits, had settled in this favoured spot, and employed themselves in excavating, in collecting antiquities, or in other occupations connected with the arts.

Of occasional residents and of visitors at Athens, there was a constant variety. English architects measuring and delineating the ancient monuments with scrupulous exactness; French artists restoring them into shapes which would probably have startled the contemporaries of Phidias; and amateur travellers contented with simply ad-

miring them: scholars studying the classics in this congenial retirement; and young officers from the garrison at Corfu, uniting the pursuits of the antiquary with the frolic of the barrack-room. In the course of the winter the Cambrian frigate anchored in the Piræus, bringing Lord Strangford with a numerous suite on their way to Constantinople; and during the fortnight that they remained, the place wore the appearance of an English colony. The different characters thus assembled, being united by a common pursuit, lived (with a few exceptions) on terms of intimacy with each other, and formed a varied and amusing society, in which several of the native Greek families, who from their frequent intercourse with foreigners had become accustomed to Frank manners and usages, occasionally joined. The Athenian ladies had the reputation of being more lively and gay than their countrywomen in general, and some few of them could speak Italian with tolerable ease, and were not unskilled in European accomplishments. M^{lle}. Rocque (the daughter of a Frenchman intermarried with a Greek) was much admired by those of her own nation; and a succession of English travellers have paid their homage to the attractions of the sisters Macri, better known perhaps as the Maids of Athens.

‘At the ordinary evening parties the amusements consisted in playing at Trianda-mia, in listening to a Greek song, or in joining in some national *jeu de société*. But other entertainments were not wanting; balls were frequently given by the English travellers, as well as by M. Logotheti the English vice-consul, at which the dull Romaika was generally varied by a country-dance or a waltz, and the Carnival did not pass over without some attempts at a masquerade. A party of Indian jugglers who came out in the Cambrian exhibited their tricks to the astonished natives; and the midshipmen acted a comedy (not one of Menander's) on board the frigate in the Piræus.

‘But these gayeties were soon to cease, and Athens was destined to witness a very different scene.’ pp. 543—548.

In April, information was received of the first exploits of the Hetaerists; and in May, Athens itself having become the scene of hostilities, our Author was glad to avail himself of the opportunity of accompanying Mr. Frere to Corfu, in a brig that had been sent to bring him off. It may now be said, more emphatically than ever, ‘*Fuerunt Athenæ.*’

Art. V. *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, till the Year A.D. 1612.* Translated from the Original Persian of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta. By John Briggs, M.R.A.S. Lieut. Col. in the Madras Army. With copious Notes. Four Vols. 8vo. pp. 2481. Price 4l. 4s. London, 1829.

FERISHTA is an Author somewhat familiar to English readers. Colonel Dow, ‘one of the earliest and most indefatigable of our oriental scholars’, long since translated his

history of the kings of Delhi; and his annals of the Deccan dynasties were skilfully rendered by Dr. Jonathan Scott. The latter, we scarcely know why, seems to have attracted less of public attention than the former. The events recorded, may not have exercised so decided and extensive an influence on the destinies of India, but they are neither less interesting nor less attractively related. Dr. Scott's work is, in fact, of greater value than that of Colonel Dow, inasmuch as it is of incomparably superior execution, and free from those abundant and conspicuous errors which materially interfere with the trustworthiness of the Colonel's translation. At that time, oriental learning was far from having obtained its present extent and precision; the geography of Hindostan was imperfectly known, and the facilities, of all kinds, which now surround the inquirer, were not then in existence. To these inevitable defects, Colonel Dow has added some of a less excusable kind. His own comments, he has thought fit to identify with the text so completely as to defy discrimination, and to justify the strong doubts which were entertained respecting its genuineness as the production of an author of the sixteenth century. Under these circumstances, it is fortunate that a thoroughly competent orientalist should have undertaken an entire translation of Ferishta's invaluable work, the great store-house whence the historians of India have drawn materials for the illustration of its annals, subsequent to the conquests of Mahmood of Ghizni.

It was the original intention of Colonel Briggs to write a complete history of the Mohamedan power in India, compiled from the rich materials within his reach, and he had made extensive collections with that view; but the destruction of his papers at the Poonah residency, by the Peishwa's troops, in November 1817, induced him to lay aside the design, and to confine himself to the translation of Ferishta, though, unhappily, 'a small part of a mass of historical matter that can never be recovered.' There are, however, circumstances in the case which make the publication, in its present state, so peculiarly valuable as much to lessen the regret we should otherwise feel at the loss of the more extensive work. In the absence of the art of printing, the repeated transcription of Ferishta's history, in a language singularly difficult to decipher, and especially liable to errors of orthography, had created so much variation and uncertainty of text as to call urgently for careful collation.

'When we reflect on the extensive regions over which the Historian passes; the numerous races of Arabs, Persians, Toorks, and Afghans, with their peculiarities of language, religion, and tribes; when to these are added the innumerable subdivisions of the Hindoo races, with their several tongues, habits, and customs; it will be acknowledged that it is no easy task to enter fully into the details, and to become fa-

miliar with the several new proper names which occur in every page. If to this be added the difficulty of tracing the movements of numerous armies of many different kingdoms, marching and counter-marching over a region as extensive as Europe, we shall not be surprised to find errors in the various copies of *Ferishta* which at present exist.

It was fortunate for Colonel Briggs, that his native assistant, Meer Kheirat Ally Khan, now the Persian secretary, or moon-shee, to the Residency at Sattara, was an excellent scholar, and well versed in Indian history. That learned person travelled, for several years successively, through various regions of the Deccan, under the direction of the Colonel, and made copies of the various Persian inscriptions on stone, which occurred during his route. These have aided in determining doubtful dates, and afforded incidental assistance in other respects. Annotation has been effectively applied to the illustration of the text, while the clear chronological and genealogical tables leave nothing, in that respect, to be desired. Altogether, we have seldom had under our notice, a work of such skilful and satisfactory execution.

Mahomed Kasim Hindoo Shah, surnamed *Ferishta*, was born at Astrabad, on the Caspian sea, whence a long emigration, of which the details do not appear, transferred him at an early age to the southern regions of India. His father was a man of considerable learning, but, from whatever circumstance it might occur, we find him seeking the patronage which his own country seems not to have afforded, at the court of Ahmudnuggur, in the Deccan, and obtaining the respectable office of Persian tutor to Meeran Hoossein, son of the mad prince Moortuza Nizam Shah. The death of his father left *Ferishta* an orphan, but, while he was yet a mere youth, he must have acquired the confidence of the monarch, since we find him, at the age of sixteen or seventeen, holding an important military post. On the day when Moortuza was dethroned by his son, *Ferishta* was in command of the royal guard, and would have been involved in the general massacre of the king's attendants, but for the interference of the usurping prince, who recollected the person of his fellow-pupil, and afforded him effectual protection. Not long after, he was induced, by the unsettled state of affairs at Ahmudnuggur, to offer his services to the neighbouring court of Beejapoor, where he speedily obtained advancement. His occupation was still military, for he had scarcely taken service, before we hear of him as wounded and a prisoner, but he speedily effected his escape. After this, he probably employed himself in more congenial pursuits; and he commenced the compilation of his history under the liberal patronage of the sovereign of Beejapoor, Ibrahim Adil Shah, who 'spared no expense to pro-

'cure the most ample materials.' Notwithstanding his literary engagements, he was occasionally employed in honourable service. He 'attended the palanquin' of Ibrahim's daughter, when she was married to the son of Akbur the Great, in 1604; and on the accession of Jehangeer to the throne of Delhi, Ferishta was sent to him on a special mission. The time of this accomplished Historian's death is unknown, but Colonel Briggs is disposed to fix it shortly after his forty-first year, supposing his birth to have taken place in 1570. This is a meagre biography, but it is all that can be obtained from the incidental notices which occur in the writings of Ferishta himself, and no other sources of authentic information exist.

The great work of which we now have, for the first time in any European language, an entire and adequate translation, can hardly be praised too highly, whether for the importance of its subject, or for the ability of its execution. Its details are even painfully, though unavoidably complicated. The multitude of proper names, frequently of uncouth and intricate composition, sometimes similar or identical, is occasionally not a little puzzling, notwithstanding the care taken both by Ferishta and his Translator to maintain as clear a distinction as possible. The collateral dynasties, the current histories often intermingling, the changes in the direct lines of succession, the usurpations and vicissitudes of empire,—these, with other sources of confusion incessantly recurring, have imposed on the historian, a task of uncommon difficulty, of which he has, however, acquitted himself with much skill. Without close and sustained attention, these volumes will present a mass of confusion; but with fair application, their connexion may be mastered without much difficulty. Very considerable relief will be afforded by a diligent use of the genealogical and chronological tables attached to the work by the care of Colonel Briggs: they are a valuable and well-executed addition to the history.

A minute analysis of the contents of these volumes, is, of course, quite out of the question: the utmost that can be expected from us is, that we should furnish such general indications as may put our readers in possession of the nature of the work, with so much of detail as may give them a sufficient notion of Ferishta's style and manner. As an introduction to these illustrations, we cannot do better than cite the distinct and admirably compressed statement which occurs in the *Modern Traveller* (India, Vol. I. page 162), of the preliminary movements and conquests by which the Mohammedan generals advanced towards the invasion and subjugation of India. For nothing is that excellent work more distinguished, than for the skill with which complicated and conflicting narratives are re-

duced within brief limits, and impressed, with the utmost clearness and precision, on the reader's mind.

* In that extraordinary revolution which transferred the conquests of Alexander, the kingdoms of Ptolemy and Seleucus, to the rude soldiers of Arabia, and reduced the empire of Nourshirwan to a province of the Khalifate, Bassora succeeded to the commerce of Alexandria, and the Indian trade fell into the hands of Mohammedan merchants. Khorasan and Balkh were subdued by Abdallah (Abdoolla) the Governor of Bassorah, in the khalifate of Othman, A.D. 651. The cities of Bokhara and Samarcand were taken by Kateibah, the Arabian Governor of Khorasan, about sixty years after. When the sceptre of Persia "fell from the nerveless grasp of the despicable successors of Omar and Ali," Transoxiana, Bactria, Khorasan, and Cabul were united in one empire under the dynasty of the Samanæan princes, who for ninety years reigned in tranquillity at Bokhara. On the death of the fifth sovereign of that family, Abustagein, or Aleptekein (Aluptugeen), who had risen from a state of servitude to be Governor of Khorasan, seized upon the city and territory of Ghizni, and assumed the ensigns of royalty. Three successive victories over the general of Munsur, the monarch of Bokhara, secured to Abustagein the undisputed possession of Khorasan and Zabulistan; and at his death, in the year 974, he left the throne of Ghizni to his son. The young monarch enjoyed for only two years the honours of royalty, his life being shortened by his debaucheries; and, on his death, Subuctagi, or Sebektekein (Subooktugeen), the favourite general of his father, was proclaimed king by the army. His marriage to the daughter of Abustagein ratified this election; and the Mohammedan historians dwell upon the valour, moderation, and justice which gained him the hearts of all his subjects.

'The first chieftain'—such are the ominous and exulting words with which Ferishta commences his introduction—'who spread the banners of the true faith on the plains of Hind, was Mohalib Bin Abry Sufra.' His invasion, however, was nothing more than a predatory inroad, about the year 664; and its extreme limit was the province of Mooltan. The earliest instance of conflict, on a large scale, between the Mohammedans and the Hindoos, was at the battle of Lumghan, between Subooktugeen and Jeipal, the raja of the Punjab, when the latter was defeated with great slaughter. This conflict occurred about 979, and the reigns of Subooktugeen and Jeipal were synchronous with those of our Ethelred and Edmund Ironside. The circumstances connected with this battle, are strikingly illustrative of the causes of that military superiority which the Persian and Afghaun races have always maintained. At a period of the

campaign a little antecedent to the actual contest, a heavy storm happened, of which the following romantic account is given by Ferishta. The Mahmood there mentioned, is the celebrated Mahmood of Ghizni, the son of Subooktugeen, and afterwards the scourge of the Hindoos.

‘Many days elapsed without the opponents having engaged each other, when it was mentioned to Mahmoud, that in the camp of Jeipal was a spring, into which, if a mixture of ordure should be thrown, the sky would immediately become overcast, and a dreadful storm of hail and wind arise. Mahmoud having caused this to be done, the effects became visible; for instantly the sky lowered, and thunder, lightning, wind, and hail, succeeded, turning the day into night, and spreading horror and destruction around; insomuch that a great part of the cattle was killed, and some thousands of the soldiers of both armies perished. But the troops of Ghizny, being more hardy than those of Hindoostan, suffered less than their enemies.’

Here we have an instance of that inferiority in bodily strength and powers of physical endurance, which has so often, in the wars of India, given the advantage to the invader. In ardent and high-souled courage, the Rajpoot yields to none; but his frame is lighter, his thigh and muscle less rigid, and, at close quarters, all other things being equal, weight carries the day. In other circumstances of warfare, the cause and the effect were the same. The Ghiznevy cavalry were better mounted than the Hindoo horsemen, and probably more heavily armed; it was the combat of dragoons against hussars; and it was also, in the battle of Lumghan, the strife of skill and discipline against numbers and rude valour. Subooktugeen gained the victory by refusing part of his line, by making incessant charges on a single point of his enemy's array, and, when he had thus shaken the Hindoo formation, by making a fierce and simultaneous attack with his whole force.

But the great spoiler of North-western India, was the prince to whom we have already referred, the famous Mahmood Ghiznevy, with his ten predatory and iconoclastic expeditions against the pagan princes of Hindostan. The effects, however, of his irruptions, although frightful in point of devastation, were not permanent. His conquests rarely led to territorial acquisition, but usually terminated in the levy of contributions, and the imposition of tribute. Mahmood, though an accomplished commander, does not seem to have been eminent as a statesman. His profession was war; his improvement of victory, rapine; his passion was the accumulation of treasure, especially jewels; and among his best qualities, his patronage of men of learning and genius, deserves distinct record. Having one night, in the caprice of intoxication, cut off the long and beau-

tiful hair of a favourite mistress, with returning sobriety grief and shame overwhelmed him. 'He sat, he rose, he walked, by turns', and his alarmed attendants trembled to approach him. In this crisis, the poet Oonsury addressed him in some extemporaneous lines, which so highly gratified him, that he ordered the bard's mouth to be 'thrice filled with jewels'. He then called for wine, and in the delight of a poetical symposium, soon got rid of his dejection. That he was avaricious, there can be no question; although Ferishta seems rather disposed to acquit him, yet without concealing or garbling the facts which tend to establish the charge.

'The king one day asked Abou Tahir Samany, what quantity of valuable jewels the Samany dynasty had accumulated when it became extinct? He replied, that in the reign of Ameer Nooh Samany, the treasury contained seven ruttuls weight of precious stones. Mahmood flung himself prostrate on the floor, and cried out, "Thanks to thee, all-powerful Being, who hast enabled me to collect more than 100 ruttuls".

'It is also said, that in the latter end of his reign, Mahmood, on hearing that a citizen of Nyshapoor possessed immense wealth, commanded him to be called into his presence, and reproached him for being an idolater and an apostate from the faith. The citizen replied, "O king, I am no idolater nor apostate, but I am possessed of wealth; take it, therefore; but do me not a double injustice, by robbing me of my money and of my good name". The king, having confiscated his whole property, gave him a certificate under the royal seal, of the purity of his religious tenets.'

It is, Ferishta further states, 'a well-established fact,' that feeling his rapidly approaching dissolution, he ordered, only two days previously to his death, all his treasures in gold and jewels to be spread out before him: casting on them a melancholy glance, he gazed awhile, weeping, and desired them to be carried back, without, as it was probably expected that he would, making largess to his attendants and friends. For this, observes the Historian, 'he has been accused of avarice.' On the next day, he reviewed his army, with all his 'elephants, camels, horses, and chariots.' From his travelling throne, he looked forth upon this mighty array; again burst into tears, and retired in bitter sorrow to his palace. Within a few short hours, Mahmood, the all-grasping and the all-conquering, was numbered with the dead.

Empire at length passed from the house of Ghizni to that of Ghoor, and the invasions of Mahomed Ghoor, led to the establishment of the Moslem kingdom of Delhi. He stands in the list of Ferishta as the first monarch; but this distinction belongs rather to Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, his slave and faithful friend, who took the city, and received the appointment of vice-

roy of India. During his master's life, he conducted himself, in trying circumstances, with exemplary fidelity; and after his death, received from his successor, the ensigns of independent royalty. From his fortunate career originated the taunt, that 'the empire of Delhy was founded by a slave.' Eibuk was an eminent and amiable man; and on his whole career, there rests but one stain, the unaccountable fit of debauchery in which he indulged himself for a short period after his capture of Ghizni from a rival chief, and which lost him that city and state. Of this transient error he repented, and the rest of his reign was honourable and prosperous. His liberality made him famous throughout the East; he obtained the name of Lakbuksh, 'Bestower of Laks;' and 'when a man,' says Ferishta, 'is praised for generosity in India, they say to this day, "He is as liberal as Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk."' The story of his successor, (for the reign of his incapable son, Aram, was but for a brief interval,) Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, is similar to that of Joseph. He was, like him, of noble birth, and singularly favoured by nature, both in person and in mind: like him too, he was envied by his brethren as the beloved of his father, sold to slave-dealers, and ultimately purchased by Eibuk, who trusted him implicitly, and gave him his daughter in marriage. The reign of Altmish lasted twenty-six years, and he is characterised as 'an enterprising, able, and good prince.' The mutations and revolutions which followed his reign, would have terminated in the establishment of his daughter Ruzeea Begum, had not her passions, by inducing her to favour obnoxious individuals, led to her deposition and death. She had been accustomed to government, for her father, when entering on an important campaign, had left her in possession of the regency of Delhy: when, asked why he preferred her to his sons for such an office, he replied, that they were incapable voluptuaries, but that Ruzeea, 'though a woman, had a man's head and heart, and was better than twenty such sons.' Another period of turbulence and change terminated in the enthronement of Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood, the youngest son of Altmish. His rule was equitable and able, but the honours of his reign seem to have been chiefly due to the talents and energy of his vizier, Ghcias-ood-Deen Bulbun, who after his death, assumed the crown. Mahmood, for an eastern monarch, was a singular man. He kept no concubines, and had but one wife, whom he made a mere household drudge; and when the lady grumbled, as well she might, at being compelled to bake his bread, without the help of a single servant, he talked very wisely about the duties of this life and the recompenses of another, but refused her request. He meted, however, to himself, the same measure which he dealt forth to others; for he persevered, throughout his reign,

in 'the whimsical habit of purchasing his food from the efforts of his penmanship.' Of this monarch, the following beautiful trait of character is given.

'One day, as a nobleman was inspecting a Koran of the King's writing before him, he pointed out the word *Fee*, which was written twice over: the king, looking at it, smiled, and drew a circle round it. But when the critic was gone, he began to erase the circle, and restore the word. This being observed by one of his old attendants, he begged to know his majesty's reason for so doing; to which he replied, that he knew the word was originally right, but he thought it better to erase it from a paper, than touch the heart of a poor man by bringing him to shame.'

Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun was an excellent monarch, although severe and unscrupulous in his policy. In the reign of his son, a new dynasty usurped the throne, and Julal-ood-Deen Feroze, of the race of Khiljy, became king at the age of seventy, and after a reign of seven years, fell a victim to treachery. —But we are lapsing into the very error which we have promised to avoid, and must perforce abandon a system of exposition which would lead us amid interminable intrigues and inexplicable vicissitudes.

The invasion of the celebrated Teimoor Beg, the Tamerlane of European historians, found the empire of Delhy an easy prey, amid the infirmities of misrule, and the general system of division and rapacity which withheld the princes of India from uniting in the common defence. The sack and massacre which plunged the capital in the deepest misery, were the usual traces of this dreaded conqueror's march; and their ravages were but imperfectly repaired by two successive reigns of sagacious and beneficent monarchs. The weakness of their descendants led to the establishment of an Afghan dynasty; a circumstance of which we shall avail ourselves, to make recurrence to the very singular tradition, formerly illustrated in our pages, which assigns to the Afghan tribes, a Jewish origin. There are certainly great difficulties in the way of this claim; but on the other hand, independently of the remarkable resemblance in physiological character, there are minor facts which aid in giving probability to the legend; and among them is the peculiarity which distinguishes their chiefs by a Hebrew title, *Mullick (Melech)*.

'I have read,' says Ferishta, 'in the *Mutla-ool-Anwar*, a work written by a respectable author that the Afghans are Copts of the race of the Pharaohs; and that when the prophet Moses got the better of that infidel who was overwhelmed in the Red Sea, many of the Copts became converts to the Jewish faith; but others, stubborn and self-willed, refusing to embrace the true faith, leaving their country, came to India, and eventually settled in the Soolimany mountains,

where they bore the name of Afghans. At the time when Abraha (?) marched against Mecca, he was accompanied by several tribes of infidels from far and near, and, on that occasion, a body of these Afghans, it is said, also joined his forces. These tribes were eventually annihilated.'

This is, evidently, a garbled statement of the tradition more correctly given by Mr. Elphinstone; and it is much to be regretted, that Colonel Briggs failed in procuring a copy of the original work cited by Ferishta. It is almost unnecessary to observe that, although the Afghan and Jewish features are singularly alike, there is nothing in common between these races and the Egyptians, either in customs or in countenance.

The brilliant era of the Delhy annals, so far as related in the work of Ferishta, comprises the reigns of Babur, Hoomayoon, Sheer Shah, and Akbur. Of the first of these great monarchs, Mr. Erskine's Memoirs gave us an opportunity, not long since, of communicating information; while the reigns of the second,—for the intermediate conquest and brilliant career of Sheer Shah justify the use of the plural,—with the long and splendid domination of Akbur, would demand from us so much space, in the attempt to give the mere outline of their vicissitudes and achievements, that we must, for the present, waive the exhibition of the causes, characters, and results of the Mogul dominion in Hindostan.

The history of the Deccan monarchies, including the six independent states of Koolburga, Beejapoor, Ahmudnuggur, Tulingana, Berar, and Bidur, spreads over so extensive a surface, and becomes so exceedingly complicated from the multiplied implications of the detail, as to bid defiance to abstraction. The extensive regions of India, and the various kinds of demarcation,—forest, jungle, desert, rivers, mountain-tracts, by which they are separated, have always been favourable to political divisions, and have given origin and vantage to incessant efforts after the establishment of distinct dominion. Hence the strongest Governments of India have generally been almost constantly engaged in a series of conflicts, greater or less in magnitude and importance, which are continually, and sometimes awkwardly, interfering with the great lines of history; and in the present case, were we to engage in direct narrative, they would leave no possible method of making matters clear, without inexpedient sacrifices. It is, moreover, to be remembered, that Ferishta's history being only partial, and not including the terminations either of the different series, or of the grand stream in which they successively merged, it becomes impossible to present them in a single view, unless by quitting our Author's limits, and in fact, giving what forms no part of our business, a complete history of India. To those who are anxious

for such an exhibition, on a clear, yet compressed scale; we cannot do better than refer them to the work which we have already quoted, where it will be found, with every additional illustration.

After having, in the first and second volumes, completed down to his own time, the histories of the monarchs of Delhi, and of the Bahmuny kings of the Deccan, Ferishta goes on with the minor sovereignties of Southern India; and this portion of the work has been rendered more complete by a succinct, though perfectly clear, chronological epitome of the wars of the Portuguese in India, as connected with the wars of the Deccan. Some important additions, from a native writer, have also been made to the imperfect history of the kings of Golconda.

The fourth volume contains the histories of Guzerat, Malwa, Kaudeish, Bengal and Behar, Joonpoor, Mooltan, Sind and Tatta, Kashmeer, and the Mahommedans of Malabar.

From these indications it will be seen, how much more complete is the present publication, than that of Dow: and, though we may feel regret that the work is not rendered complete by following up the details until the absorption of the minor monarchies in the great kingdom of the Moguls, yet, even this deficiency is in some degree supplied by the chronological tables, which bring down the series of events to the beginning of the seventeenth century.

We have felt some disposition to avail ourselves of the present opportunity, to institute an inquiry into the general influence of the Mohammedan conquests and supremacy, on the general condition of India; but Ferishta neither gives scope, nor furnishes materials for such an investigation, and we scarcely feel justified in extending our comments so far as to include the various works which bear on that important question. One circumstance appears unquestionable, that, although the Mohammedan inroads may have supplied the armies of India with troops of firmer nerve and steadier discipline, yet, they have prepared the way for the subjugation of Hindostan, by spoiling her wealth, by scattering her resources, by dividing her interests, and by rendering the natives indifferent as to what master they may serve. As a sort of *resumé* of the general subject, we insert the following very important remarks by Colonel Briggs.

"The perusal of this history cannot be otherwise than instructive, if it be merely to shew the certain effects of good and bad government among a people whom our ignorance disposes us to consider as devoid of moral energy, and who are prone to submit without resistance to the grossest oppression. It is not my intention to dilate on the origin of this misconception of the Indian character; and a volume would not suffice to point out all the instances to the contrary with which the

work abounds. The rapid success of Akbur in subjugating the greater portion of India, by a policy which elevated all classes of his subjects, whether newly subdued or otherwise, and of whatever creed or country, to the level to which their rank in society entitled them; and the rapid downfall of the government of Aurungzeeb, who oppressed the Hindoo population by a poll-tax, and by disqualifications from public employ, are the most striking which occur in the Mahomedan history. The early success of the Portuguese under Albuquerque and Nuno de Cunha may be chiefly ascribed to the confidence they reposed in the natives; and the decline of their power may be dated from the time when, under the name of religion, they persecuted them on account of their national tenets. These events form prominent landmarks in history, which our own rulers seem prudently to have avoided.

It was the wisdom, or, perhaps, the good fortune, of the ruling administration in England, to select such governors as Clive and Hastings, in the early part of our Eastern career, who formed the groundwork of our gigantic dominion in the East; and it is to the great men who have subsequently ruled those possessions, that they owe their present prosperity.

This is not the place to discuss a question of such magnitude. The present form of administration has arisen out of circumstances foreign to the objects contemplated in the original institution of the commercial body which now presides over it; but it stands preeminent among all the political phenomena in the annals of history. To appreciate this engine of government fully, it is necessary, not only to view it as a whole, but to observe the course of its action; and the more it is examined, the more one is struck with the magnitude of its power, and the energy and efficiency of its operation. It is a subject for deep speculation, how, if it were removed, its place could be supplied; but we may, I think, pronounce with confidence, that whosoever shall venture to do so, either by changing its constitution, or even by violently disturbing its motion, will incur the risk of involving in ruin the British power in India.

The very able work on Indian taxation, recently published by Colonel Briggs, will, probably, be noticed in our next Number.

Art. VI. 1. *Diary of Thomas Burton, Esq.*, Member in the Parliaments of Oliver and Richard Cromwell, from 1656 to 1659: now first published from the Original Autograph Manuscript. With an Introduction, containing an Account of the Parliament of 1654; from the Journal of Guibon Goddard, Esq. M.P. Also now first printed. Edited and illustrated with Notes, historical and biographical. By John Towill Rutt. Four Vols. 8vo. London. 1828.

2. *A Historical Account of my own Life*, with some Reflections on the Times I have lived in (1671—1731). By Edmund Calamy,

D.D. Now first published. Edited and illustrated with Notes, historical and biographical. By John Towill Rutt. In two Volumes, 8vo, pp. xxiv. 1070. Price £1. 18s. London, 1829.

IF reading a book were not, according to our obsolete notions, a preliminary to reviewing it, we should not have been so far behind some of our contemporaries in noticing the first named of these publications. But we must confess that, even now, we have not been able entirely to get through Mr. Burton's voluminous Diary, and that we shrink from the labour requisite to enable us to give a full, true, and particular account of its contents. But we have read enough to feel much indebted to Mr. Rutt for the great pains and care he has taken in editing this curious and valuable document. His opinions and ours differ very widely both on religious and political subjects; but we cannot reasonably refuse to him the right he claims, to give occasional expression to them, as the Notes, taken altogether, form an admirable and indeed indispensable commentary upon the Diary, highly creditable to the Editor's diligence, and discovering a very extensive acquaintance with all the collateral sources of information. Few men, in the present day, would either have undertaken so laborious a task, or have prosecuted it so much *con amore*. Judging from the fac-simile of a page of the original manuscript, the mere task of deciphering the almost illegible writing, must have been laborious and perplexing in no ordinary degree. Nor is the subject matter of a character to relieve the extreme tiresomeness of the operation. Thomas Burton, Esq. M.P. &c., to whom we are indebted for this Parliamentary Diary, has confined himself to the dry and plodding business of a reporter; and if any thing approaching to eloquence was ever elicited in the course of the debates, no trace of it appears in the worthy Member's minutes. Nothing, indeed, can be more tedious, rambling, vexatious, and often disgusting, than the general character of the discussions; and we rise from the perusal with any thing rather than a higher opinion of the collective wisdom of the legislative body whose proceedings are here laid open.

One thing is made quite clear by this Diary,—that the Restoration was inevitable, and that what rendered it so, was the impossibility of establishing the new Government without violence. The variety of conflicting opinions, the wild theories of the republicans and theocrats, the irreconcilable jealousies between the Parliament and the army, and the inextricable difficulties in which all parties found themselves, rendered a return to the old system of things the only means of escaping from anarchy. 'I have sat here in three parliaments,' said one speaker in the debate of Mar. 7, 1658, 9, 'and we have still

'been upon foundation work.' 'I do see,' remarked another, 'by the variety of opinions among us, that it is dangerous to go off from foundations.' 'It is better for me to suffer the greatest misery,' exclaimed Serjeant Maynard, 'than to suffer all power to be devolved into a Parliament. We should take a sword that God never put into our hands.' Yet, this was what was aimed at, he tells them, by Sir Harry Vane and his party. (Vol. iv. pp. 68—74.) Nor did he slander them. Sir Harry does not mince the matter.

'When the power of King or House of Lords is melted down into this House,' he said, 'it is in the people, by the law of nature and reason. Death and tract of time may melt it, and bring it down; but this shall never die. The representative body never dies, whoever die. Provision is made for it. By the law of the land, they could have come together, if there had been no Protector *de facto*.'

After some more declamation in the same strain, interspersed with references to a 'sneaking oligarchy,' and 'sneaking counsellors,' Sir Harry adds, in a spirit of characteristic fanaticism :

'God is almighty. Will not you trust him with the consequences? He that has unsettled a monarchy of so many descents, in peaceable times, and brought you to the top of your liberties, though he drive you back for a while into the wilderness, he will bring you back. He is a wiser workman than to reject his own work.' Vol. iv. p. 72.

Sir Harry proved himself but a miserable interpreter of the Divine dispensations, the wisdom of which he so presumptuously implicates in the success of his own party. At length, in the debate of April 18th, 1659, Lord Falkland told the House: 'You have been a long time talking of three estates. There is a fourth which, if not well looked to, will turn us all out of doors.' The dissolution of the House, which took place three days after, was almost the last public act of Richard Cromwell. To this exertion of prerogative, he was most unwilling to have recourse; but the factious conduct of the Parliament on the one hand, and the remonstrances of the officers of the army on the other, left him no alternative. Burnet says, that Fleetwood and his council of officers 'resolved to lay aside Richard, who had neither genius nor friends, neither treasure nor army to support him.' Ludlow, on the contrary, asserts, that Col. Disbrowe went to Richard, and told him, 'that if he would dissolve his parliament, the officers would take care of him, but that if he refused so to do, they would do it without him, and leave him to shift for himself'; that, 'having taken a little time to consider of it, and finding no other way left to

'do better, he consented to what was demanded.' With this other testimony agrees.

"The Lords Howard, Broghill, and some other officers," says Budgell, "advised him to remember that he was Cromwell's son, and to act as his father would have done on such an occasion. They lastly offered, that if he would not be wanting to himself, and would give them authority to act under him, they would either force his enemies to obey him, or cut them off. Richard, startled at this proposition, answered in a consternation, 'he thanked them for their friendship, but that he had neither done, nor would do any person any harm; and that, rather than a drop of blood should be spilt on his account, he would lay down that greatness, which was but a burthen to him.' He was so fixed in this resolution, that whatever the lords could say, was not capable of making him alter it." See *Memoirs of the Boyles*, (1737,) pp. 75, 76.

'There is a similar relation in a "Dialogue between the Protector Richard and Colonel Howard." House of Cromwell, i. 330—332.

'That eminent Nonconformist, Mr. Howe, who had been chaplain to the Protectors, having "heard Richard reflected on as a weak man," says Dr. Calamy, "he with some warmth made this return: 'How could he be a weak man, when, upon the remonstrance that was brought from the army by his brother Fleetwood, he stood it out all night, against his whole council, till four o'clock in the morning, having none but Thurloe to abet him; maintaining, the dissolving that Parliament would be both his ruin and theirs?'" Vol. iv. pp. 485, 6.

This conduct certainly indicated any thing but weakness; and it is pleasing to reflect, that this good man ended his days in peace, after an extended and vigorous old age, in his 86th year.

No part of the transactions recorded in the Diary, reflects so deep disgrace upon this legislative body, as the proceedings in the case of James Nayler, the poor mad Quaker. Whether he was mad or not, indeed, his strange and absurd pranks might have called for the interference of the magistracy, but were quite beneath the notice of the legislature. The very reason, indeed, that led to the appointment of a Committee of the House, to examine into the 'misdemeanours and blasphemies' with which he was charged, and to prepare a bill in reference to them,—ought to have deterred the Parliament from proceeding against him. It was admitted, that he had violated no existing law, and had consequently not rendered himself amenable to the ordinary courts of judicature. 'It is a hard case,' said Lord Strickland, 'that we should have no law in force to try this gentleman, but you must have recourse to your legislative power. This House never took up that power, but upon extraordinary occasions, with a *protestando* not to draw it into precedent. If there were a law to try him without, others are better judicatories in such cases; but to condemn him first,

'and then try him, as was offered to you, is very hard.' Nayler had been examined before the Committee, at which almost 150 members had been present; and upon their report, it was proposed to declare him guilty of 'accumulative blasphemies.' Some members thought it more consonant with the rules of law and justice, that the accused should first be heard for himself at the bar of the House. This was resisted by Major Beake, among others, upon grounds which sufficiently indicate the temper of these judges.

'Those that argue (against agreeing with the Committee) from the greatness of the punishment, look further than I can divine. I suppose none can tell what his sentence shall be, till the offence be agreed on. If you want a law, who can supply it, *as in the case of a Strafford*, but a Parliament? Shall punctilios, and modalities, and forms, bind and tie up a Parliament? We are not thus strait-laced. Arguments from consequences are not good in these cases, when the nature of the thing ties us punctually to perform it. Every man is satisfied that this ought highly to be taken notice of. You are no more bound to precedents, than in Strafford's case. You may create a form when you please.' Vol. I. pp. 43, 4.

Precedents, however, for proceeding upon the report of a committee, such as they were, were not wanting; and another speaker said: 'When, in the Long Parliament, you did by a law confiscate men's estates and lives and liberty, both in England and Ireland, had you any more, nay, so much evidence as 'in this case, though, I presume, justly too?' It was, however, at length agreed, that Nayler should be called to the bar; and the examination, as given by Mr. Burton, ought certainly to have issued in his acquittal. The poor fanatic admitted, that he had assumed the titles of 'King of Israel,' and 'the fairest of ten thousand,' but he explained them in a mystical sense; he declared, that his followers gave him no worship; that he was one that daily prayed that magistracy might be established in the nation, and that he did not, and durst not, affront authority. After he had withdrawn,

'Sir Gilbert Pickering offered another question (being unsatisfied) about what his hope was in Christ's merits, and how he prayed to that Christ that died at Jerusalem. Whereupon Nayler was called on again, and *answered pretty orthodoxly to those questions*, and gave an account of his faith in God and Christ.' &c.

One would have thought, this might have stayed the zeal of his persecutors; but it had been predetermined to find him guilty, for reasons not obscurely intimated in the speech of Major General Skippon; who 'was against calling him in, or asking any more questions.'

'He hath confessed enough to vindicate the Committee, who deserve

thanks, for they have been very faithful and painful in the business. It now lies with us (being fully possessed of the matter of fact) not to suffer the honour of God and the truths of the Gospel, to be thus trampled upon. We shall see what judgements will come upon us. God now looks what you will do. Indeed, my heart trembles at those things remarkable which will follow your remissness herein. I am afraid there will nothing come of this business, and then sin and judgement lie at your doors. These Quakers, Ranters, Levellers, Socinians, and all sorts, bolster themselves under thirty-seven and thirty-eight of (the Instrument of) Government, which, at one breath, repeals all the acts and ordinances against them. I heard the supreme magistrate say, "It was never his intention to indulge such things;" yet, we see the issue of this liberty of conscience. It sits hard upon my conscience; and I choose rather to venture my discretion, than betray conscience by my silence. If this be liberty, God deliver me from such liberty. It is to evil, not to good, that this liberty extends. Good Sir; discharge your duty to God in this thing, and put the question to agree with the Committee.' Vol. I. pp. 49, 50.

It should seem that some members who were in favour of religious toleration, to the extent, at least, of the provisions of the Instrument of Government, either did not choose to risk their popularity by opposing the prosecution of Nayler, or really thought that the cause of religious liberty would be brought into discredit, if he were suffered to go unpunished.

'The eyes of all the nation', said Colonel Cox, 'are upon you for this issue. The world abroad says, it is liberty of conscience has brought this fellow before you. I am of the same opinion. I am as much for liberty of conscience as any man; but, when he runs into these extravagancies, I think he exceeds that liberty.' *Ib.* p. 38.

Mr. Church said: 'We ought to be zealous in this business, as in Achan's case'. Sir William Strickland would have them 'put on courage, and not let the enemies of God have the upper hand, to have liberty to blaspheme his name. It is the cause of God, and ought not to be slighted.' Mr. Downing, who seems to have been not much less of the fanatic than Nayler himself, though a fanatic of a different temper, and less harmless, said:

'We have made a law against treason, upon earth, to be tried without juries. I gave my vote for it. It was just. If there be such a thing as treason against Heaven, if I be not most zealous in this matter, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth. As to the Instrument of Government, I hope it shall never be made use of as an argument to let this wretch escape. I am as much for tender consciences as any man; but I deny that this has any share in such liberty. God could have made this man a pillar of salt immediately, if he had pleased; have struck him dead; but he has left it to you to vindicate his honour and glory. Now see what you will do. This is the day of

temptation and trial of your zeal. I can call this offence no less than blasphemy. I desire you would vote it so, and then to speak of a bill for his punishment.' *Ib.* p. 61.

The Lord President Lawrence, who spoke next, observed with more good sense than seems to have fallen to the share of most of his contemporaries :

'This gentleman has spoken very zealously; yet they were honest men, too, that called for fire from heaven, and we know how they were reproved. I have lived some time in the world, and seen what is abroad, and how careful wise men have been in proceeding in this kind.' p. 62.

Not so the wise men he spoke to. Major-General Skippon retorted, that, by the rule offered by this honourable person, 'none shall meddle at all in matters of religion'. Such a tenet as this would have been scouted by these theocratic legislators; and accordingly, Sir Gilbert Pickering vindicated the Lord President from the imputation of wishing to tie the hands of the House in this matter. This gentleman thought poor Nayler chargeable with idolatry, but not with blasphemy; and 'to give my vote for blood', he added, 'I shall be very tender in it'. Lord Whitlock thought it an offence of a higher nature than blasphemy, and recommended a bill of attainder against the poor Quaker. Major Beake conceived the judgement of Parliament so sovereign, that it might declare that to be an offence, which never was an offence before, as the Roman senate did in the case of parricide. The Master of the Rolls (Lenthall) thought Nayler guilty of flat idolatry and abominable blasphemy; and he urged the ill construction that would be put upon their proceedings by 'the malignant party', if they did not punish the offender. Some gleams of sounder sense and better feeling appear in the remarks of the following speakers.

'*Mr. Highland.* We have a saying in our country, "Give the devil his due". The poor man is bad enough; we had not need to add. Does he deny either God, or Christ, or the Spirit? Lay no more stress upon it than it deserves. . . . I hope you are not of opinion that he should suffer death for this, though it be a heinous offence. Labour, if it be possible, to reclaim those who are misled by his delusions; for, I suppose, we all agree it to be a great and horrid crime. Yet, from the whole, to judge it blasphemy, I conceive it is not proper, nor can I give my *yea* to it.'

'*Mr. Bodurda.* A man had need premise something of himself, before he say any thing in this business. I cannot agree, from the whole, to call it horrid blasphemy. I would have any man lay his finger upon any part of the charge, and say this particular is horrid blasphemy. . . . I cannot pretend to any skill in the original tongue—thus much I remember of Greek, βλασφημία, *defamatio*,—a pertinacious holding of heresy. You have not any such part of Nayler's offence

before you, which he hath pertinaciously persisted in. The proceeding of the Church in this case ought to be followed, who heard a heretic three or four times before they passed sentence. His riding into Exeter was a horrid piece of pageantry and imposture, but how to call that blasphemy in him, I know not.' p. 72.

'Colonel Holland. I hope he may speak now, that has spoken nothing in this business. Consider the state of this nation, what the price of our blood is, liberty of conscience: the *Instrument* gives it us. We remember how many Christians were formerly martyred under this notion of blasphemy; and who can define it what it is? I am wholly against the question.' p. 78.

Blasphemy, however, 'horrid blasphemy' was voted to be the character of his crime; and the next subject of debate was his punishment. Nothing is more remarkable than the precedents that were referred to in these debates. The objection taken against making an *ex post facto* law in a judicial proceeding, was completely disposed of by the remark, that 'nothing is more ordinary in Parliament.' The case of the Bishop of Rochester's cook, who, by Act of Parliament, had the new punishment appointed him, of being boiled in hot lead*, was cited by Lord Whitlock and other speakers. Also, the case of Hackett, tried by the Long Parliament for proclaiming himself the King of Saints. 'The like in the Holy Maid of Kent's case, in the time of Henry VIII., who said she had immediate intercourse and letters from the Virgin Mary. Her offence was adjudged high treason.' We must give the speech of George Smith, M.P. for Dumfries, and one of the judges in Scotland. The preceding speaker, Col. Sydenham, had nobly said, 'he should choose rather to live in another nation, than where a man shall be condemned for an offence done, by a subsequent law.'

'Judge Smith. I have as tender a conscience as any man to tender consciences, and I am also as tender of the honour of God. How tender are we of our own privileges! Not an arrest upon a footman but is severely punished, as done to us. I doubt we shall be but too tender in this business. What are we called in other nations, but the great nursery of blasphemies and heresies? And what will they say, now we have passed a vote against a horrid blasphemer, and we are at a stand what to do with him? But we are afraid of a precedent. For my part, I am not afraid of this precedent; I am sorry there is occasion for it; but it were without precedent, if we let it pass unpunished. Was not the King justly condemned by the legislative power for tyranny, treason, and oppression. It was a just sentence. The like for

* He had made broth, 'which poisoned all the family, and the beggars at the gates.' Poisoners, Mr. Rutt remarks in a note, were boiled to death, till 1547, when they were adjudged to suffer as other murderers.

the Earl of Strafford and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Rochester's cook, and Hackett, &c. Six or seven were condemned and hanged at Tyburn, for speaking against the Book of Common Prayer, a slenderer offence than this. Our laws make it death for robbing a man, though he take but 12*d.* from him. Burglary by night, though nothing be taken away, is death. Yet we make nothing of robbing God of his glory. My motion is, that a Bill of Attainder may be brought in; and, if you have no other punishment, that you would fill up the blank with the old way of punishment, that he may be stoned to death.' pp. 86, 7.

The law, the argument, and the spirit of this ferocious speech, are all worthy of each other. Lord Strickland, who followed, shewed some of this lawyer's precedents to be irrelevant. 'In the Earl of Strafford's case,' he remarked, 'counsel was heard on both sides, and he was attainted of treason.' His case was also 'particularly excepted, not to be drawn into precedent.' Laud suffered on the same charge. Hackett was proceeded against as a rebel. 'Some proceedings were by the bishops against heretics,' added the noble speaker, 'but I never knew any law for it in England.'

'I am not satisfied in your judicial way of proceeding. I would have every Englishman be careful in this case. It has been our happiness to be governed by a known law . . . This House is a living law, but make as little use of the legislative power as you can. It is a dangerous precedent to posterity.' p. 88.

Sir Charles Wolseley took the same side. 'We may not,' he said, 'by the legislative power, do what we please, call that an offence which is not; we have also a master in heaven, to whom we must give an account.' The Lord Chief Justice Glynn was altogether unsatisfied in passing sentence of death upon the offender, as the case was without precedent. But a Mr. Bampffield, Mr. Burton tells us, 'made a very large and handsome speech in answer to what Lord President, Lord Fiennes, and Lord Chief Justice, and the rest of the merciful men had said, such as they were scarce able to reply to. He proved it, that it was the mind of God to punish this offence with death, and he could not pass his judgement otherwise.' His main position was, that the magistrate is *custos tam primæ quam secundæ tabulæ*; and his argument was worthy of his position, being in part taken from 'that law of Darius against those that should speak evil of Daniel's God.' A Mr. Bond adduced another admirable precedent: 'The parliament of Burgos (Bourdeaux) have hanged, drawn, and quartered a Quaker for these very opinions.' But Mr. Nathaniel Bacon went a little further back, citing Nebuchadnezzar's conduct in putting the three children into the furnace, as a good Christian precedent; and arguing from the conduct of the heathen generally, in put-

ting to death so many martyrs, that the mere light of nature taught men to punish with death those who dishonoured the gods. Col. Kiffen protested against this strange argument from the light of nature, which would have been a little more in character with an assembly of French *sans-culottes*; and Mr. Pedley went so far as to say, that it was not the light of nature, but the depravity of their nature, that led the heathens to put persons to death for profaning their idols; like their causing their children to pass through the fire to Moloch. But a Mr. Godfrey stood up, in reply, for the *morale naturelle* of putting a blasphemer to death, as shewn by the praiseworthy conduct of the heathen in martyring the Christians!

Were these debates not given by an ear-witness, who seems himself to have applauded the proceedings against Nayler, it would be scarcely credible, that arguments such as these could have been gravely adduced by English Protestants of the seventeenth century. At length, after a debate of ten days, the question for the higher punishment was negatived by a majority of 96 to 82. The question for the lesser punishment being then put, Col. White proposed, that his tongue might be bored through; Col. Barclay, that his hair might be cut off; Sir Gilbert Pickering recommended hard labour and imprisonment. But these suggestions were deemed far too lenient, and at length, the horrible sentence was passed,—That James Nayler should be set on the pillory twice, for two hours each time; between which he was to be publicly whipped from the Palace Yard, Westminster, to the Old Exchange; he was then to have his tongue bored with a hot iron, and be branded on the forehead with the letter B; afterwards, to be sent to Bristol, and publicly whipped there; and then be brought back to London, committed to prison, and have no relief but what he earned by his daily labour. When the poor victim of this atrocious and brutal sentence was called to the bar, Mr. Speaker told him, that, in his sentence, 'mercy was mixed with judgement'; that 'it was a sentence not of death, his judges desiring his reformation, not his destruction'. Nayler was forbidden to speak; but he was heard to say in going out, 'The Lord lay not these things to your charge'. To the eternal reproach of his judges, the sentence was executed.

Upon the whole, we are compelled to regard these Parliament-men as miserable politicians and worse lawyers, ill qualified to sit as legislators, still less so as judges. Indeed, the monstrous combination of the legislative and judicial functions in a popular assembly, must infallibly lead to acts of tyranny. A House of Commons would seem to be one of the worst courts of justice that can be. So ill do the first principles of constitutional liberty and common equity appear to have been under-

stood by the greater part of Nayler's judges, that one is ready to think it required all the fierce agitation attending the prolonged struggle between arbitrary prerogative and the free spirit of Englishmen in the subsequent reign, to elicit and establish those simple, fundamental axioms of justice and enlightened policy upon which the fabric of our constitutional freedom rests.

Nor did the current theology of those times, if we may judge from the specimens contained in this *Diary*, stand less in need of the purifying process of controversy and persecution. 'Here is a great deal of truth among professors', said the Protector, in his speech on opening the parliament in 1656, 'but very little mercy. They are ready to cut the throats of one another; but when we are brought into the right way, we shall be merciful as well as orthodox.' (Vol. I. p. clxxviii.) The judaical corruption of Christianity which had so extensively spread through the nation, was not less opposed to the genius and spirit of the Christian faith, than the Papal corruption is to its fundamental doctrines; nor did it less peremptorily call for a reformation. The origin of these Jewish notions would form an interesting subject of investigation. To a certain extent, they are common to the Romish and the Cameronian politico-theology; for both the Papacy and the Church Militant of the Covenanters, are modelled on the Jewish theocracy. The republicanism of the seventeenth century is characterized by the strong infusion of these theocratic notions, which, though unfortunately mixed up with Puritanism, ought rather to be considered as the remains of Popery, of which the first Reformers had not been able to divest themselves. These notions, originally imported into this country from the Continent, were carried with them by the first Puritan emigrants to New England, where they exerted a powerful influence in shaping the legislation and institutions of the Pilgrim Fathers. Neither Protestantism nor Puritanism, however, is altogether answerable for the origination of the mistaken principles upon which that legislation proceeded, except so far as regards the severer morality which it was sought to impose. Even the Presbyterian polity ecclesiastical is essentially that of the Romish Church, though somewhat modified; as the episcopal polity is characteristically secular and *Ghibelline*. The Papacy is scarcely less truly a republic, than was the Venetian aristocracy, and as such, is naturally the antagonist of monarchy. An episcopal hierarchy, on the contrary, naturally connects with the crown, the prelate being a sort of lord-lieutenant of the monarch in matters ecclesiastical; while a national clergy may be considered as a democratic aristocracy,—the worst possible form of government when invested with sovereign power, but an admirable ele-

ment of the social system, when acting with the mere force of moral influence.

It was the unhappiness of the times we have been reviewing, that political science had not yet been separated from scholastic theology, nor the boundaries of political power been intelligibly defined. The controversy related less to political principles, than to the mere forms of polity, or to the parties with whom the powers of government, civil and ecclesiastical, should be lodged. It was not then understood, that tyranny is equally tyranny, whether exercised by a monarch, a Star Chamber, a Council of State, or a Parliament; and that hanging a Quaker was as Popish an act as burning a Protestant. Whatever indignation we cannot but feel at the transactions we have been recording, notwithstanding that we must blush, as Protestants and as Englishmen, at the absurdity and cruelty of the sentiments avowed in the first Assembly of the land, by those who sustained the responsible office of legislators,—still, let us not forget, that they but represented and reflected the times in which they lived; times which produced great men, but they were but lights in the midst of darkness, and the darkness comprehended them not. In vain Milton pleaded with the voice of eloquence for the freedom of the press, and Jeremy Taylor for the liberty of prophesying. The public ear was deaf to the voice of the charmer. Cromwell himself appears to have been, in some respects, far in advance of his age; and had he united genius, eloquence, and dignity of manners, of which he seems to have been wholly destitute, to his great knowledge of human nature, courage, shrewdness, and distinguished talents for government,—had his conduct taken more decision and firmness from the confidence inspired by clear ideas and the conscious power of imparting them,—he might, perhaps, have obviated a second revolution, by re-uniting the dissevered members of the nation under a constitutional monarchy, and by making a new dynasty the security of the general interests and popular liberty.

The autobiographical memoir left by Dr. Calamy, so ably illustrated by the same Editor, gives us an insight into the times of comparative calm which succeeded to the re-establishment of despotic authority in Church and State, under the restored and faithless monarch. The Writer was born in April 1671.

‘I have sometimes thought’, says Dr. Calamy, ‘that I came into the world at a very critical juncture with respect to public affairs and transactions; for I was born eleven years after King Charles was restored, without any terms or treaty, which some so much rejoiced at; and which the Lord Clarendon says, was “such a prodigious act of Providence, as God hath scarce vouchsafed to any nation, since he led his own chosen people through the Red Sea”’. The impressions that

this surprising change had made upon the nation, were not then quite worn out. Yet, jealousies and fears (such as were not groundless) were by that time pretty generally revived, the King appearing eagerly bent upon freeing himself from shackles, and setting up arbitrary government.' Vol. I. p. 66.

The Author was not fourteen years of age, when James II. acceded to the throne. His brief account of the latter part of the previous reign, consists chiefly, therefore, of his early recollections. It relates, however, some interesting facts. Dr. Calamy states, that Lord Shaftesbury was the contriver and manager of the Test Act; 'and, by a good token, he and the Duke of Buckingham, and the other great men that pushed that act forward, assured the Dissenters, that they should have a clause inserted in their favour, in some other act, the same session, though it was unhappily omitted.' Young Calamy was present at the proclaiming of King James II. at the upper end of Wood Street; and he says:

'My heart ached within me at the acclamations made upon that occasion, which, as far as I could observe, were very general. And it is to me a good evidence that all the histories that fall into our hands are to be read with caution, to observe that Bishop Burnet positively affirms, that "few tears were shed for the former, nor were there any shouts of joy for the present king". Whereas I, who was at that time actually present, can bear witness to the contrary. The Bishop, indeed, who was then abroad, might easily be misinformed; but methinks he should not have been so positive in a matter of that nature, when he was at a distance.

'The new king was elevated, and some of his subjects transported; but nothing can be truer, than that there were great numbers of them that had very terrifying apprehensions as to what was to be expected. To me, I must own, it in a very sensible manner discovers the great changeableness of this world, that King James should at this time so quietly succeed his brother, without any thing like a dispute or contest, when, but five years before, the majority of three Houses of Commons were so bent upon excluding him, that nothing could satisfy them, if this was not compassed.' Vol. I. pp. 116, 17.

In 1687, 8, Mr. Calamy, at the recommendation of Mr. Howe, proceeded to Utrecht, to complete his theological studies in that city; and he continued in Holland till the year 1691. Among other eminent and illustrious persons, professors, refugees, or students, with whom he there became acquainted, was Lord Spencer, son of the Earl of Sunderland, who, when Secretary of State, in the reign of Charles II., had appeared very zealous for the Bill of Exclusion.

'Yet, within two years after, when the tide began to turn, as Archdeacon Echard observes, he artfully wrought himself into all favour, and made the Duke of York sensible that every thing he had done in

Parliament, that seemed to be against his interest, was much for his advantage. He satisfied him, that the reason why he appeared for his exclusion, which he knew would not pass, was to prevent the limitations which, he was sure, would have passed, if not opposed by him and others, and would have made him a Doge of Venice, rather than a monarch.' Vol. I. p. 155.

Some brief but interesting biographical notices are given of several other public characters of the day. Of Tillotson, Dr. Calamy speaks in terms of high veneration; and he professes himself to have been one of those who were very well disposed towards falling in with the Establishment, could the Archbishop's scheme of comprehension have taken place.

'The main thing I was an enemy to, was proper church power; and to that, I believe, I always shall be an enemy. And I am very much mistaken in Dr. Tillotson's true character, if he was not so too. And I take that to be the real reason why the convocation whom he advised King William to consult with about what was then designed, were for the greatest part of them his enemies, and continued so to the last.

'Dr. Tillotson did advise King William to begin with the Convocation. Yet, when he found Dr. Jane with a high hand made Prolocutor of the Lower House instead of himself, who had a great deal of reason to expect it, on the account of his place and station in the Church; (which election, the Compiler of the Compleat History of England owns, was made on purpose to oppose the accommodation proposed,) and took notice with what resolution the body of them, from the very first, declared against any alterations, and how they fortified and strengthened their confederacies and combinations, he was convinced that the method he had been for, was really impracticable, as things then stood, and therefore was not for repeating the "dangerous experiment," or having any thing more to do with convocations all the while he continued archbishop. This, I must confess, I take for a full and sufficient proof, that what I offered was not "a bare conjecture," but a real reason, and one that is so convincing and satisfying, that it will not admit of an answer. And for the confirmation of this, I refer my reader to Bishop Burnet.

'There is another reflection on the Dissenters, which I think it not improper here to take notice of; and it is to be met with in the *Life of King William*, in three volumes, and reprinted in the *Life of Dr. Henry Compton*, Bishop of London, and also in "the *Compleat History of England*." The former of these authors, in his account of the year 1689, says, that "the Presbyterians did not a little contribute to exasperate the Convocation against them." Which is a suggestion, that (all circumstances being considered) I should have thought might very well have been spared. A majority in that Convocation were determined against any sort of condescension, that might pave the way for a coalition. This was so notorious, that this very author, but a few pages before, owns in so many words, that "the Bishop of London was sensible that the majority of the Lower House were resolved to oppose the intended union with the Dissenters." They resolved to oppose it,

as a thing needless and useless, dishonourable to the Church, and against the common interest. This being the true state of the case, this being the known prevailing temper of the Convocation, to talk of their being "exasperated by the Presbyterians," at that particular juncture of time, is a perfect jest. Alas! the gentlemen of the Convocation did not like the tempers of these Dissenters, to whom the King desired they should be united, nor did they approve of their principles. They rather chose their room than their company; and to keep them out, than to let them into the Church. They were against uniting with them at any time; and much more at that time, when churchmen were so divided among themselves with respect to the Civil Government. To talk therefore, in such a case, of their being "exasperated by the Presbyterians," is perfectly trifling, and only looks as if a man willingly would find some apology for these gentlemen, did he but know how.

And yet exasperated they were, and that to a great degree. And, therefore, when Dr. Jane was chosen prolocutor of the Lower House, in preference to Dr. Tillotson, and had in a Latin speech extolled the excellency of the Church of England, above all other Christian Communities, and concluded with these words, *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari*; the Bishop of London on the other part, being at the head of the Upper House, in the absence of the Archbishop, who did not think fit to appear, made a discourse in the same language, importing, that "they ought to endeavour to come to a temper in those things that were not essential in religion, thereby to open a door of salvation to abundance of straying Christians; and that it was their duty to shew the same indulgence and charity to the Dissenters under King William as some of the Bishops and Clergy had promised to them under King James." And he closed his speech with these words of Joseph to his brethren, *Ne tumultuamini in consiliis vestris*; thereby exhorting them to unanimity and concord. This was truly noble and generous in that Bishop, and serves, I think, to shew, that if he had to do in this with exasperated persons, it is they must bear the blame of not doing what they easily might have done, in order to the promoting peace and union at so seasonable a juncture; and that the throwing the blame on others, is a direct flying in his face. And it is observable, that it is owned by the Compiler of the third volume of "the Compleat History of England," that this Bishop could do nothing in the matter, but connive at their treating him with some indignity, which he did not deserve from them.' Vol. I. pp. 207—215.

On his return to England in 1691, Mr. Calamy particularly waited on Mr. Baxter, who talked freely with him about his good old grandfather, 'for whom he declared a particular esteem.' He was now 'well advanced in years, but delivered himself in public, as well as in private, with great vivacity and freedom, and his thoughts had a peculiar edge. He talked in the pulpit with great freedom about another world, like one that had been there, and was come as a sort of an express from thence, to make a report concerning it.'

Mr. Calamy enters at length into the reasons which deter-

mined him for non-conformity, after a full consideration of the subject. Chillingworth's "Religion of Protestants" had considerable influence in determining him; together with the admissions and reasonings of Hooker and Jeremy Taylor. The whole of his remarks upon this subject, his analysis of the "Ecclesiastical Polity", and citations from eminent divines of the Church of England, will be found extremely interesting. Mr. Calamy was publicly ordained, with six other candidates, June 22, 1694, not without some trouble and difficulty in obtaining 'ordainers' among the Presbyterian clergy, who would take part in a public service of the kind. Both Mr. Howe and Dr. Bates had declined to assist at a public ordination. From this period till the year 1731, these volumes contain very full memoirs of the public events and ecclesiastical transactions of the times; comprising much valuable and interesting information, historical and biographical: to which the Editor has added a very entertaining body of notes. Had he but added an index, as in his former publication, he would have laid us under still greater obligations. The copious index to Burton's Diary is admirably drawn up, and very greatly enhances the value of the publication. Our limits will not allow of further citations at present from the Calamy Memoirs; but we shall probably have occasion to advert to their contents hereafter. They form a very valuable addition to that series of auto-biographical memoirs, which collectively throw so strong a light upon the most interesting period of our domestic annals. It is particularly acceptable, as it dovetails with Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time, carrying on the narrative nearly twenty years further into the last century. Of the Bishop's work, Dr. Calamy remarks, that, though not altogether free from defects and blemishes, 'it is likely enough to keep its credit, notwithstanding all the ill-natured and spiteful reflections of Dr. Cockburn, Mr. Salmon, and Mr. Ben. Higgons,—and we may add, of Dr. Southey himself.

We have already referred to the opinions of the Editor of these publications, as not being by any means in perfect unison with our own; and we could have wished that he had, upon some occasions, forbore to give expression to them, where they do not seem to have been absolutely called for. At the same time, we freely concede, that he had a full right to exercise his own discretion in this particular, as we should have claimed to do, under similar circumstances. We do not feel it necessary to advert more specifically to the points upon which we are at issue. We shall content ourselves with referring, as a specimen, to the note on plenary inspiration, at Vol. II. pp. 231—233, which, after giving some valuable bibliographical information, closes with a remark somewhat too much in the spirit of Gibbon.

Mr. Rutt is not quite correct, in the first place, when he represents Lowth, Wall, and others as contending for a *plenary* inspiration, although they insisted upon a real and proper inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; and in the next place, those writers were too good reasoners, as well as divines, to institute an inquiry into the antecedent probability of a miraculous agency, as a means of ascertaining a fact, which rests, not upon hypothesis, but upon historic testimony, confirmed by the clearest internal evidence. The primary proof of inspiration was the gift of prophecy. We have the prophetic record, as demonstrable evidence of the miraculous agency. If the inspiration of any portion of the Old Testament is questionable, it cannot be owing to any improbability in the case, but simply to a deficiency of evidence, 'when', to use the words of Lowth, 'the author is not certainly known, and consequently we cannot argue that it is inspired, from the character of its author. The evidence for its being inspired, or written by God's direction for the use of the Church, must (then) be resolved into the authority of the Jewish canon, as that is confirmed to us by Christ and his apostles.' *

NOTICES.

Art. VII. *Devotional Sonnets on some of the most striking Texts in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark.* By a Member of the Church of England. 18mo. pp. 168. Price 4s. London. 1830.

Mr. Capel Lofft would not have allowed these quatorzains the title of sonnets; and although we are not quite so fastidious and rigid in our requirements, we must say, that the Writer appears to have no very distinct idea of the true character of that description of poem. But, as a series of short poetical pieces on Scriptural subjects, the volume may please those readers who do not require that pious sentiment should be set off by very brilliant or vigorous composition. The following is an average specimen.

"Our Father."—MATT. vi. 9.

'And may the children of a sinful race,
Conceiv'd and born in sin, thee, Father call?
Approach thy high and holy dwelling-place;
Where thou art life, and light, and all in all?
O love divine, ineffable! For this
The "man of sorrows" sojourn'd here on earth,
Sealing, with his most precious blood, such bliss
For mortal man; who by the second birth

* Lowth's Vindication (1699), p. 210.

Should his disciple prove. Make grace abound,
 Great God, in us: its influence sweetly shed,
 Soft as the nightly dews, which on the ground
 Revive the buried fruits tho' seeming dead.
 That living, we our tribute e'er may raise,
 And breathe in life's last quiv'ring accent, praise! p. 27.

Art. VIII. *An Introduction to Systematical and Physiological Botany.* Illustrated with Explanatory Engravings. By Thomas Castle, F.L.S., Member of the Royal College of Surgeons. 12mo. Price 10s. plain, or 12s. bound. London. 1829.

IN reply to a note of inquiry from the Author of this Introduction, we must state the fact. His volume, upon reaching the hands of the Reviewer, was detected and forcibly seized by a family of young botanists, who have found it so indispensable a companion and guide in the prosecution of their in-door and out-of-door studies, that it has never since been laid on our table. Need we say a word more in favour of the work? Yet, let not any reader take up the mistaken idea, that it is what is usually called an Introduction,—a slight essay or general survey. The work is more and better than it professes to be: it is a manual of botany, comprising the following general divisions:

I. History of Botany. II. Elements of Botany. III. Language of Botany. IV. Linnæan Artificial System. V. Linnæan Natural System. VI. Jussien's Natural System. VII. Anatomy and Physiology of Plants. VIII. Harmonies of Vegetation.

This very comprehensive outline of the different branches of botanical science, is filled up with sufficient detail to answer the purpose of the student, arranged with singular conciseness and clearness; and we do not recollect to have met with a work in which so much information on the subject treated of, has been compressed into so small a compass, without confusion or meagreness. We must repeat, that the volume is designed for the student anxious to obtain a practical knowledge of the wonders of the vegetable kingdom; and by such persons, Mr. Castle's assistance will be gratefully estimated. It is the best work of the kind, for this purpose, that has come before us.

Art. IX. *A Brief Outline of the Evidences of the Christian Religion.* By Archibald Alexander, D.D. Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology in the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. Am. From the third American Edition. 18mo. pp. 192. Edinburgh. 1830.

THIS is an admirable summary of the Argument in support of the truth of Christianity against deistical objectors; and the publisher of this reprint well deserves the thanks of the religious public in this country. After a brief introduction 'on the right use of reason in religion,' Dr. Alexander proceeds to establish the following propositions, to each of which a chapter is devoted.

I. 'It is impossible to banish all religion from the world; and if it were possible, it would be the greatest calamity which could befall the human race.'

II. 'If Christianity be rejected, there is no other religion which can be substituted in its place; at least, no other which will at all answer the purpose for which religion is desirable.'

III. 'There is nothing improbable or unreasonable in the idea of a Revelation from God; and consequently, nothing improbable or unreasonable in such a manifest divine interposition as may be necessary to establish a revelation.'

IV. 'Miracles are capable of proof from testimony.'

V. 'The Miracles of the Gospel are credible.'

VI. 'The Bible contains predictions of events which no human sagacity could have foreseen, and which have been exactly and remarkably accomplished.'

VII. 'No other Religion possesses the same kind and degree of evidence as Christianity; and no other miracles are as well attested as those recorded in the Bible.'

VIII. 'The Bible contains internal evidence that its origin is Divine.'

As a specimen of the terse, perspicuous, and masterly manner in which the argument is handled, we give a short extract from the chapter on the Internal Evidence of Christianity.

'The third thing which was mentioned as important to be known by man, is the means by which a depraved nature may be restored to rectitude; or in other words, how the thorough reformation of a sinner may be effected. On this subject, philosophy has never been able to shed any light. And this is not wonderful; for the most that human wisdom, if ever so perfect, could effect, would be the direction and regulation of the natural principles and passions of men; but, in this way no true reformation can be produced. Whatever changes are effected, will be only from one species of sin to another. In order to a radical restoration of the soul to moral rectitude, or to any degree of it, there is a necessity for the introduction of it into the mind, of some new and powerful principle of action, sufficient to counteract or expel the principles of sin. It is in vain that men talk of a restoration to virtue by reason; the mere perception of the right way will answer no purpose, unless there is some inclination to pursue it. Now the want of virtuous affections, or, to speak more correctly, of holy dispositions, is the great defect of our nature, in which our depravity radically consists; and the only way by which man can be led to love and pursue the course of obedience to the law of God, is, by having love to God and to holiness excited or implanted in his soul. But to effect this, is not in the power of any creature; it is a work which requires a divine energy—a creating power, and therefore a true conversion from the ways of sin was never effected without supernatural aid. There may be an external reformation. There may be, and often is, a change of governing principles. The man who in his youth was under the predominant influence of the love of pleasure, may in advanced years fall completely under the control of avarice or ambition; but in every such case, the change is effected by one active principle becoming so strong as to counteract or suppress another. It may be laid down as a universal maxim, that all changes of character are brought about by exciting, implanting, or strengthening, active principles sufficient to overcome those which before governed the man.' pp. 165, 6.

ART. X. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

Boswell's Life of Johnson, with the Notes and Biographical Illustrations of Malone: complete in one small 8vo. volume, 12s. In cloth boards.

Sketch of the Life and Character of the late Mr. Joseph Cowley, Superintendent of Red-Hill Sunday School, Sheffield. By John Holland. 18mo.

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